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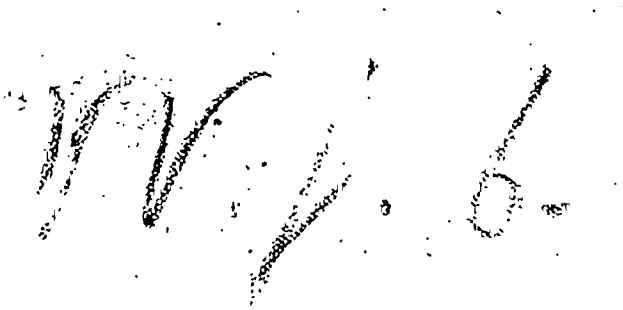

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND

KING OF SPAIN.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND

KING OF SPAIN.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XI.

BOOK XI.

1572. The revolt of Holland.

WHILE the tranſactions that have been related paſſed in Zealand, the ſame ſpirit of revolt, by which the people of that province were actuated, made rapid progreſs in ſome of the other provinces. The inhabitants of Enchuyſen were the firſt in North Holland who had the courage to plant the ſtandard of liberty upon their walls; and thoſe of Medinblinc, Edam, Purmerend, and other towns, quickly followed the example. In ſome of theſe places, part of the people were averſe to this revolution; but theſe were few, compared with their opponents, and were obliged either

BOOK XI. either to yield to the majority, or to ſecure themſelves by flight from their reſentment.

1572.

THE ſame meaſures were purſued, at the ſame time, in the ſouthern parts of the province. That flame which had been kindled ſome time before, burſt out at once in a thouſand different places. And in a few months, Leyden, Gouda, Dort, Haerlem, and all the other towns in Holland, Amſterdam excepted, had openly declared againſt the Spaniards, and avowed their reſolution to acknowledge no other authority in future, but that of the Prince of Orange, and the States. The ſame reſolution was formed in ſeveral of the cities of Overyſſel, Frieſland, and Utrecht.

THIS revolution, ſo favourable to William's views, was not a little promoted by intrigues, which, although he himſelf was abſent, were carried on in his name, and by his authority. In letters to the principal inhabitants he had allured them to his intereſt, by flattering them with the hopes of having all their privileges ſecured; of enjoying full freedom to exerciſe their religion, whether Proteſtant or Catholic; and of being for ever delivered from that oppreſſive load of taxes with which they had been overwhelmed. In order to enforce theſe exhortations, he ſent his agents throughout the provinces;

provinces; and moſt of theſe were perſons either of great addreſs, or of great authority and influence among the people [a]. BOOK XI. 1572.

His military preparations.

WILLIAM's military preparations were at this time far advanced, and he hoped ſoon to begin his march, with the probability of a more proſperous iſſue than had attended his former expedition. He had already collected a formidable army of well-diſciplined forces. Conſiderable ſums had been tranſmitted to him by the friends of his cauſe; and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances had been given him, that ſome of the principal cities in the ſouthern provinces would open their gates to receive him. But no circumſtance contributed more to inſpire him with a confidence of ſucceſs, than the new meaſures which, a little before the preſent period, had been embraced by the court of France.

The affairs of France.

IN the bloody conteſt which had ſubſiſted for ſeveral years between the Catholics and Pro-

[a] In Holland, the revolution was chiefly owing to the activity of Sonoy, whom the Prince had ſent thither as governor ſubſtitute, till he himſelf ſhould arrive; and in Guelderland, Utrecht, and Frieſland, to the Count of Berg, a nobleman of intereſt in thoſe parts, who was married to William's ſiſter, and acted in every thing by his direction.

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teſtants in that kingdom, the former had generally been victorious. But the latter, rouſed by their leaders, aided by foreign powers, animated by zeal for their religion, and inflamed with reſentment on account of the cruel perſecutions which had been exerciſed againſt them, continued to make ſuch vigorous efforts, as created in their enemies the moſt alarming apprehenſions with regard to the iſſue of the war. The court had, at different times, offered them advantageous terms of accommodation; and peace had oftener than once been eſtabliſhed between the contending parties. But their pretenſions, their intereſts, and their religious principles, were incompatible; and they remained quiet only till they were in a condition to renew hoſtilities. The court never had more reaſon to entertain hopes of being able to extirpate their opponents, than towards the end of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-nine. Their brave and active leader, the Prince of Condé, had been killed in the battle of Jarnac; they had afterwards received a dreadful overthrow in the battle of Moncontour; and the Admiral Coligni, with the young Princeſs of Bourbon, had been obliged to retire, with the feeble remains of their ſhattered army, to the mountains of Gaſcony and Languedoc. There, however, they exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in making preparations for trying once more

more the fortune of war; and in a few months, they drew together a force ſufficient to enable them to leave their retreat, and to enter the liſts againſt the royal army. 1572.

Queen-mother's plot againſt the Proteſtants.

When intelligence of this was brought to the Queen-mother, who exerciſed at that time an unlimited authority in the government, ſhe was equally exaſperated and alarmed; and ſhe reſolved to employ other means than open force to be avenged upon her enemies. She communicated her plan only to the King, the Duke of Anjou, the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Duke of Guiſe, and Alberto Gondi, Count of Retz; who all engaged to maintain the moſt inviolable ſecrecy. Time only brought to light their dark deſign. The Proteſtants, they now believed, were not to be overcome by the force of arms; and it was reſolved to have recourſe to fraud and circumvention.

In purſuance of this plan, a new treaty with the Princes of Navarre and the Admiral was ſet on foot, and ſoon afterwards concluded at St. Germains. By this treaty, the Proteſtants received a free pardon of all their paſt offences, with liberty to make public profeſſion of the reformed religion; and the Princes and Admiral were allowed for their ſecurity, to retain poſſeſſion of Rochelle, Cognoc, La Charité, or

BOOK XI. 1572. Montauban, on condition, that if the articles of the peace were obſerved, theſe places ſhould be delivered to the King within the ſpace of two years from the date of the preſent pacification.

THE Proteſtant leaders entertained the ſame diſtruſt of the ſincerity of the King and Queen-mother in this, as in all their former negotiations. They were ſtill afraid of putting themſelves in their power, and remained at a diſtance from court, in the places of ſtrength which had been aſſigned them. In order to remove their ſuſpicions, every ſpecies of artifice was employed. All the articles of the peace were punctually fulfilled. Strict orders were iſſued to allow the Proteſtants in all places to celebrate openly their religious aſſemblies; and in all the diſputes which happened between the Catholics and them, the latter were treated with indulgence, while the former had, on many occaſions, reaſon to complain of injuſtice or ſeverity. Charles embraced every opportunity to expreſs the pleaſure which he now enjoyed, in having reſtored tranquillity to his kingdom; and even when none but zealous Catholics were preſent, he often declared how unalterably fixed his purpoſe was, to perform with ſtrict fidelity, his engagements with the Proteſtants. He had ſufficiently experienced the folly of attempting to ſubdue men's conſciences by force; and no

no conſideration would make him return to his former unhappy meaſures; which he had found to be no leſs ineffectual for accompliſhing the end intended, than they were deſtructive of his own repoſe, and pernicious to his ſubjects. All his counſellors, except thoſe who were partners in the bloody ſecret, believed him to be ſincere; and by the accounts which they gave of his diſcourſe, added to the diſpleaſure which they expreſſed at his change of conduct, they contributed to complete the deluſion of the Proteſtants. The Admiral, however, ſtill retained his wonted diffidence; and when urged by the King to come to court, and receive in perſon every proof that could be given him of ſincere attachment, he declared, that it was impoſſible for him to think himſelf ſecure, where his mortal enemies of the family of Guiſe were poſſeſſed of ſo much power.

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To have gratified the Admiral by ſo great a conceſſion as the immediate removal of the Guiſes, Charles knew would have had a ſuſpicious aſpect; and therefore he went no further at this time, than to aſſure him that his fears were groundleſs, and that his enemies were not maſters as formerly. But ſoon after the Duke of Guiſe and his brother left the court, ſeemingly much diſguſted with the meaſures which were there purſued. At the ſame time, other

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means of deluſion were employed, more likely to produce the deſired effect. Charles offered his ſiſter in marriage to the King of Navarre; and an ambaſſador was ſent to England to negotiate a match between the Duke of Anjou and Queen Elizabeth. But of all the inſtruments of deceit which he employed, there was none more efficacious, than the declaration which he made of his reſolution to enter into war with the King of Spain. Philip had refuſed, he ſaid, to grant him reparation for certain injuries which his ſubjects had received from the Spaniards in America; and he was determined to take vengeance on that Prince, by invading his dominions in the Netherlands. He offered the command of the army, which he talked of ſending thither, to the Admiral, and aſſured him that he would be entirely governed by his counſels, and thoſe of the Prince of Orange and Count Lewis, in carrying on the war.

No propoſal could be better calculated than this to blind the Admiral's penetration. Conſcious of ſuperior military talents, he was naturally fond of war; ſincere in his profeſſion of the reformed religion, he was zealous to propagate and defend it; and he was ſtrongly attached by ſympathy of manners, as well as religious principles, to the Princes of Naſſau. Count Lewis was with him at Rochelle, when the

the propoſal was delivered, and he contributed not a little to baniſh from his mind the remains of thoſe ſuſpicions, which he ſtill retained for the King's ſincerity. Soon afterwards they both ſet out for Paris, where they were received and treated with ſo much eſteem and confidence, as gave the Admiral a full conviction that the ſentiments both of the King and the Queen-mother were in reality what they ſeemed. BOOK XI. 1572.

CHARLES thought it neceſſary for his purpoſe to wear the maſk for ſome time longer; and as he found that nothing had ſerved ſo effectually to lull the Admiral's ſuſpicions as this laſt device, he affected to be extremely ſolicitous about making preparations for the war; and in the mean time deſired Count Lewis to repair to the frontiers of the Netherlands, to communicate his deſign to the malecontents, and to hold them in readineſs for the Admiral's arrival with the troops. There was nothing farther from his intention than to begin hoſtilities. But no ſooner were the Huguenots informed of the deſign on which Count Lewis had ſet out, than great numbers of them, prompted by their religious zeal, and by the reſtleſs military ſpirit of the age, flocked after him, and offered to aſſiſt him in any enterpriſe he ſhould undertake.

LEWIS

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LEWIS was himſelf of too active a temper to ſuffer them to remain long without employment. It was of the utmoſt conſequence, he knew, towards the ſucceſs of that expedition on which his brother was about to enter, as well as of the French invaſion of the Netherlands, to acquire poſſeſſion early of ſome fortified town in the frontier provinces. With this view he had maintained a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the inhabitants of Mons; and he made himſelf maſter of that important city by the following ſtratagem:

HAVING left the confines of France, he arrived in the evening with five hundred horſe and a thouſand muſqueteers at a wood in the neighbourhood of Mons, whence he ſent forward ten or twelve of his ſoldiers, whom he ſelected on account of their ſuperior addreſs and reſolution. They entered Mons in the evening, and lodged together in the ſame inn. They gave out that they were dealers in wine; informed their hoſt, that their ſervants were bringing a quantity of that liquor, and inquired at what hour the gate of the city, by which it was to be brought in, would be opened. They were told, that, for a ſmall reward, the keeper would open it at any time; and early next morning, having bribed the keeper to open it, they ſeized upon the keys, and diſperſed the

the guards. Count Lewis, who was at hand with a hundred horſe, immediately ruſhed in, and having taken poſſeſſion of the gate with a part of his troops, he traverſed the principal ſtreets of the city with the reſt, and proclaimed to the inhabitants, that he was not come as an enemy, but as a friend; and that the Prince of Orange was approaching with a powerful army, to aſſert their liberty, and to deliver them from all thoſe oppreſſive taxes which had been impoſed upon them by the Duke of Alva. BOOK XI. 1572.

ALL the citizens ſtill remained within their houſes, except a few who were privy to his deſign; but he began to grow uneaſy when he reflected on the ſmall number of men that were with him, and to wonder that the reſt of his troops were not come forward. It was to no purpoſe, he knew, to attempt keeping poſſeſſion of ſo great a town with ſo ſmall a force. He rode out therefore as faſt as he could towards the place where he had left his troops, who had loſt their way, and were wandering in the wood. He conducted them immediately to the city; not without anxiety, leſt he ſhould find the gate ſhut againſt him on his return. But ſuch was the conſternation of the citizens, and their ignorance of what had paſſed, that none of them had ventured to

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ſtir without their houſes. The gate was ſtill open, and every thing in the town as quiet and motionleſs as when he left it. He then placed his guards at the ſeveral gates, and on the ramparts; and calling the magiſtrates together, explained to them his own, and his brother's deſigns; giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that no violence ſhould be committed by his ſoldiers. After which he commanded ſuch of the citizens as he could not truſt, to deliver up their arms; and ordered all of them to proceed as formerly in the purſuit of their cuſtomary occupations. His troops did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men; but he ſoon acquired a much greater force by the acceſſion of many Proteſtants, who haſtened to his aſſiſtance from Picardy and Champaign[b].

THE loſs of Mons affected the Duke of Alva in the moſt ſenſible manner; and it gave him the greater uneaſineſs and concern, as it was altogether unexpected. Being no ſtranger to Count Lewis's enterpriſing genius, he had kept an anxious eye upon all his motions, during his abode in France; eſpecially after the peace of St. Germains, and the kind reception he

[b] Bentivoglio, p. 95. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 79. Meteren, p. 95.

had

had met with from the King. The lateſt account which he had received of him from his ſpies at Paris was, that he was playing at tennis; by which piece of intelligence they meant to inſinuate, that he was more attentive to amuſement than to any ſerious purſuit. When the Duke therefore was informed of his ſucceſs at Mons, he diſcovered the utmoſt impatience and chagrin. In the rage which it excited in him, throwing down his hat, and trampling upon it, "I have been deceived, he cried, by a Tuſcan woman (meaning Catherine of Medicis), but ere long, inſtead of Tuſcan lilies ſhe ſhall feel the ſmart of Spaniſh thorns." BOOK XI. 1572.

His vexation was much increaſed by his knowledge of the great importance of the place which he had loſt. He conſidered that Mons was not only the capital of the province of Hainault, but one of the largeſt and moſt populous cities in the Low-Countries; that, being ſituated in a marſhy ſoil, it might eaſily be rendered impregnable; that although it was not in the line of the barrier towns, yet it was removed at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the frontier, that the poſſeſſion of it muſt greatly facilitate the entrance of foreign troops into the provinces; and that either the French King, whoſe

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whoſe conduct had for ſome time paſt had ſo hoſtile an appearance, or the Prince of Orange, could eaſily furniſh it with ſupplies.

THESE conſiderations made him reſolve to attempt the recovery of it without delay; but while he was making the preparations neceſſary for this purpoſe, he received intelligence of the revolution in Holland; and at the ſame time was informed, that the Prince of Orange, having already collected a numerous army, was about to begin his march. Alva, far from ſhrinking at the view of ſo many impending dangers, exerted himſelf with great activity and vigour to repel them. He carried on his levies with the utmoſt diligence, and in a very ſhort time found himſelf poſſeſſed of between five and ſix thouſand German horſe, and eighteen thouſand foot of the ſame nation; beſides fifty companies of Spaniards, and one hundred and fifty Walloons, and other natives of the Netherlands. He would gladly have ſent a part of theſe forces to recover the revolted cities in the maritime provinces, and the reſt to the ſiege of Mons; but when he reflected on the difficulty which he muſt encounter in either of theſe two enterpriſes, he apprehended that his army, numerous as it was, could not with ſafety be divided. He reſolved

reſolved therefore to employ it, whole and entire, againſt his enemies on one hand of him, before he ſhould turn it to the other. BOOK XI. 1572.

STILL, however, he remained in great perplexity, finding it difficult to determine whether it was moſt expedient to begin with the ſiege of Mons, or the recovery of the maritime provinces. And to aſſiſt him in deciding this important queſtion, he called a council of his principal officers; when the Marquis of Vitelli, one of the firſt in rank, as well as in military merit, adviſed him earneſtly to begin with the latter, and ſupported his opinion by obſerving, "That although the interior provinces were liable to be invaded from the ſide of France or Germany, yet it would not be difficult to recover whatever cities ſhould be loſt in thoſe provinces, as the inhabitants were in general more loyal than thoſe of Holland and Zealand, and much leſs infected with the ſpirit of innovation in religion. That the Huguenots under Count Lewis were deſtitute of means to ſupport themſelves, and muſt ſoon be diſperſed; for he could not be perſuaded that the French King, who had hitherto ſhewn ſo much zeal for the true religion, would ever debaſe himſelf ſo far, as to favour the attempts of his rebellious ſubjects to ſubvert it. The German forces under the Prince of Orange, undiſciplined and

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and tumultuary, were actuated in their preſent warfare, by no other motives but thoſe of pay and plunder. And if they were diſappointed in their expectation of theſe, there was little ground to doubt that they would chooſe rather to return home, after taking vengeance on their leaders, than expoſe themſelves to the fatigue and danger of beſieging towns and fortreſſes. "We may therefore, without anxiety," continued he, "put off the ſiege of Mons, and the defence of the inland frontier, till a more convenient ſeaſon ſhall arrive. But the ſtate of the maritime provinces admits not of the leaſt delay. The people there are univerſally infected with hereſy. They have conceived a degree of phrenzy, and indulged themſelves in the moſt extravagant exceſſes againſt the Church and the King. Their ſituation, ſtrong by nature, will ſoon be rendered impregnable. Every paſſage of a river and canal will require an army to force it, and every ſiege, a campaign to finiſh it. By the ſea, and by the rivers, they can be always richly furniſhed with proviſions; they can every hour receive ſuccour from France, Germany, or England; and will be able, by their naval force, to prevent the King's army from receiving ſupplies from Spain. It is there too, the Prince of Orange, for many years, was governor. There he poſſeſſes ſeveral large eſtates; and he has formed

formed there numerous and close connections with persons of the greatest influence in the country. As it was in these provinces he first erected the standard of rebellion, it is in them he intends to fix the seat of that usurped dominion which he is so ambitious to maintain. Let us attack our enemy first in his strong hold; and when we have driven him from thence, we shall find it much easier to prevent him from establishing himself in any other quarter."

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Such were the reasons which Vitelli gave for advising the Duke of Alva to postpone the siege of Mons; and, if his advice had been followed, it is probable that the Republic of the United Provinces would never have been formed. The people had not yet had time to put the cities into a proper state of defence, and they could not have long resisted so great a force as the Duke of Alva might have employed to subdue them. Amsterdam and Middleburgh were still unshaken in their allegiance. With the ships belonging to these two wealthy cities, and those which he would have received from Spain, a fleet might have been equipped superior to that of the Protestants; who must have been soon reduced to the necessity of submitting to whatever terms Philip might have thought fit to impose.

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No ſuch pernicious conſequences as thoſe which were foretold by Vitelli, could have followed from allowing the enemy to remain for ſome time in poſſeſſion of Mons; nor even from the conqueſt which the Prince of Orange might have made of other places. In an open country, ſuch as the interior provinces, the fate of towns muſt depend entirely on the number and diſcipline of the armies employed to attack or defend them; and in both theſe reſpects, the Duke of Alva had reaſon to believe that he would be at all times able to maintain his ſuperiority; eſpecially if, by firſt reducing the maritime provinces, he could keep open his communication by ſea with Spain.

But it is infinitely eaſier for men to judge concerning matters of ſuch nice deliberation, after the event has happened, than when they are about to enter upon action. It ought to be conſidered, that Alva had not yet experienced the difficulties attending the ſiege of towns, ſituated in a country ſo much interſected by the ſea, by rivers and canals, as the maritime provinces; and could not foreſee thoſe amazing exertions which the people made, firſt in their preparations for war, and afterwards in the defence of their cities when attacked. He had likewiſe reaſon to entertain ſuſpicions of the hoſtile intentions of the French King. He

dreaded the havoc which would be made by the army of the Prince of Orange, in the richer and more fertile provinces; and thought it would bring an indelible ſtain upon his honour, if he did not endeavour to prevent it. Beſides theſe motives, it is not improbable, conſidering the natural violence of his temper, that he was in ſome degree influenced, in the reſolution which he formed, by his perſonal jealouſy of the Prince of Orange, and his deſire of diſappointing a ſecond time the attempts of one who had formerly rivalled him in the favour of his Prince. BOOK XI. 1572.

WHATEVER were his motives, he reſolved to begin his operations with the ſiege of Mons; and to delay the reduction of Holland till he ſhould diſengage himſelf from his enemies on the ſouthern frontier. In order to increaſe the number of his forces, he commanded the garriſons of Rotterdam and Delfſhaven, the only towns in Holland in which he had any garriſons left, to join him; and immediately ſent off his ſon Frederic de Toledo, accompanied by Noircarmes and Vitelli, with a part of the troops, to form the blockade of Mons. The ſiege of Mons.

THE inhabitants of that city, though ſuſpicious at firſt of Count Lewis's intentions, were now well ſatisfied with his government, and

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were ſolicitous to provide for their defence againſt the Spaniards. They aſſiſted him with great alacrity in completing their fortifications. They were active in laying in military ſtores and proviſions; and having repeatedly ſallied out for this purpoſe, after Toledo's arrival in their neighbourhood, they had ſeveral rencounters with his troops.

LEWIS had, ſome time before, ſent the Sieur de Jenlis to Paris, to inform the King of his ſucceſs, and to ſolicit the ſpeedy march of the troops which he had promiſed to ſend to his aſſiſtance. Charles received Jenlis in the moſt gracious manner, affected to be extremely happy with the accounts which he had brought him, and gave him authority to levy forces; hoping that before they could take the field, he would be able to put an end to the ſcene of diſſimulation which he had ſo long been acting. But the Admiral, who was allowed to exerciſe an unlimited power in the adminiſtration, puſhed forward the levies with greater vigour than the King intended; and in a few weeks, Jenlis was ready to ſet out with between four and five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. The Admiral and Count Lewis concurred in adviſing him to direct his march by the way of Cambray, that he might avoid being intercepted by the enemy, and join the army of the Prince of

Orange. But Jenlis refuſed to comply with this wholeſome counſel. He vainly hoped to be able, with his own forces alone, to oblige the Spaniards to quit the ſiege; and he wiſhed to ſecure this honour to himſelf, rather than leave it to be reaped by the Prince of Orange. Notice was ſent privately to Toledo, from the court of France, of the route which he was to take, and of the time of his departure. Toledo immediately drew off his forces from the blockade, and advanced to meet him on the frontier; being deſirous to engage at a diſtance from the town, leſt Count Lewis ſhould ſally out, and attack the Spaniards in the rear, when they were engaged in battle with Jenlis. Toledo had reached a village called St. Ghiſlain, at the diſtance of a few miles from Mons, when he was informed that the enemy had entered a neighbouring wood, and that upon their coming out from it he might attack them with great advantage. He ordered his cavalry to march firſt, and followed as faſt as he was able with the infantry. The cavalry had almoſt reached the borders of the wood, when they perceived a hundred of the enemy's horſe that had been ſent before to reconnoitre. Theſe the Spaniards inſtantly attacked, and drove back into the wood, purſuing them cloſely till they reached the main army, which was thrown into confuſion by the precipitate flight of the fugitives.

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In a very little time the whole Spaniſh army arrived, and began the attack before Jenlis had time to draw up his men in order of battle. The French made reſiſtance, however, for two hours with great bravery; but at laſt they gave way, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight. Upwards of twelve hundred fell on the field, and many were killed in the purſuit, partly by the Spaniards, and partly by the country people, who took cruel vengeance for the injuries which they had received from them in their march. Jenlis himſelf was taken priſoner, and conducted to the citadel of Antwerp; where, having died ſuddenly, his death was aſcribed to poiſon. The loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniſh army was inconſiderable.

Alva's arrival before Mons.

TOLEDO returned to Mons in a few days after this diſtinguiſhed victory; and ſoon after the Duke of Alva arrived. This cautious General having drawn a double trench and rampart round his army, by which it was rendered ſecure on one ſide againſt the ſallies of the beſieged, and on the other, againſt any ſudden attack that might be made upon it by the Prince of Orange, he immediately erected ſeveral batteries, and began his fire in different quarters with great fury. The beſieged diſcovered no leſs vigour in their defence; which was conducted with great prudence, as well as the moſt

moſt indefatigable activity, by Count Lewis, ſeconded in all his operations, by the celebrated La Noue, who had gained diſtinguiſhed renown in the civil wars of France. 1572.

Arrival of the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands.

But although the beſieged diſplayed the utmoſt ſkill and intrepidity, they had no hopes of being able to raiſe the ſiege, without the aſſiſtance of the Prince of Orange. William had already penetrated into the Low Countries, and advanced as far as Ruremond. There he ſtopped, and demanded a ſupply of proviſions for his troops. The government of the town was in the hands of zealous Catholics, who not only rejected his requeſt, but accompanied their refuſal with a degree of haughtineſs and inſolence by which the Prince and his army were highly exaſperated. There were many of the citizens, however, with whom he had formerly held intelligence. Having at this time renewed his correſpondence with them, he made a briſk attack upon one of the gates. The Catholics ſuſtained it with ſpirit; but while they were thus employed, the Proteſtant inhabitants ſnatched the opportunity, and introduced the aſſailants by another gate into the city. It was not then in the power of the Prince of Orange to reſtrain the fury of his ſoldiers. They plundered many of the citizens, violated the churches, and put to death, with

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great barbarity, ſeveral prieſts, and other religioniſts. By ſome popiſh hiſtorians, William himſelf has been blamed on account of theſe enormities. But theſe writers ſeem neither to have known that he publiſhed an edict to prevent them, nor to have conſidered, that as he could not but perceive that violent meaſures were calculated to hurt his cauſe, by alienating the affections of the people in other cities, ſo his conduct, on innumerable other occaſions, furniſhes the ſtrongeſt proof of his utter averſion to all cruelty and outrage.

WILLIAM's acquiſition of Ruremond was of great importance, as it put him in poſſeſſion of a commodious paſſage over the Maeſe; he therefore left a garriſon to defend it, and haſtened afterwards to Hainault. The citizens of Mechlin having been gained over to his intereſt by the Sieur de Dorp, opened their gates to receive him. There he likewiſe left a garriſon. The citizens of Louvain refuſed to admit him within their walls; but, on his preparing to employ force, they conſented to grant him a contribution; of which he accepted, in order to ſave the time which the ſiege would have coſt him. Nivelle, Dieſt, Sichem, Tillemont, and ſeveral other towns ſurrendered to him; ſome through fear, and others through the affection which they bore to his cauſe or perſon.

Dendre-

Dendremond and Oudenarde were taken by surprise, and great irregularities were committed by the soldiers in both these places, especially in the latter, where, notwithstanding their leader's prohibition, they once more indulged that ungovernable fury with which their bigotry inspired them against the ecclesiastics of the Romish communion. BOOK XI. 1572.

William made his stay at each of these places as short as possible. He did not, however, arrive in Hainault till the beginning of September, when his army amounted to more than twenty thousand men.

So great an army could not be supported long without more ample funds than he possessed. The States of Holland had sent him a considerable sum. The exiles had transmitted to him a part of the money that arose from their captures. His other friends had raised contributions proportioned to their abilities. But so great had been the expence of levying, equipping, and maintaining his troops, and such immense sums had been laid out in purchasing artillery and military stores, that he had occasion still for all the supplies which had been promised him by the court of France.

But his hopes of relief from that quarter were now utterly extinguished. The plan of treachery

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treachery above-mentioned, which had been carried on for two years with a degree of perſeverance as well as of diſſimulation that has not its parallel in hiſtory, was at this time brought to a concluſion. The artifices employed to delude the Proteſtant leaders had at length ſucceeded, and they were almoſt all caught in the net which had been prepared for their deſtruction.

THE Admiral had remained at court for ſeveral months, during which time Charles gave him every day freſh marks of affection and eſteem. That deceitful Monarch had ſhewn likewiſe a particular attachment to the Admiral's friends, and was perpetually ſurrounded with them at council, in his own apartments, and when he went abroad. With his permiſſion, the Admiral had left Paris, and gone to Chatillon, where he ſtaid for ſome time to ſettle his private affairs. This indulgence was calculated to create in him the moſt aſſured confidence; ſince it could hardly be ſuppoſed, that if the King had intended him any harm, by enticing him to court, he would have allowed him to depart from it. To ſuch a height was the Admiral's ſecurity now riſen, that when Charles expreſſed his deſire of having all grounds of enmity between him and the Guiſes removed, he readily conſented that they ſhould come

come to Paris, and agreed to refer the ſeveral points of difference between himſelf and them to the King's deciſion. In a few days after, the Duke of Guiſe arrived, attended by a numerous train of dependants; and a formal reconciliation was made in preſence of the King. But it ſoon appeared how little ſincerity there was on one ſide, in the profeſſions which were uttered on that occaſion.

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As a prelude to the final cataſtrophe, the Queen of Navarre, a Princeſs who by her ſpirit and magnanimity had long been formidable to the Catholics, died, after a ſhort illneſs, which was generally aſcribed to poiſon. And an attempt was made, by a partiſan of Guiſe, to aſſaſſinate the Admiral. By this laſt event the Proteſtants were greatly alarmed; but the King and Queen-mother, by redoubling their diſſimulation, and aſſuming, with conſummate artifice, the appearance of deep concern for what had happened, prevented the Admiral from ſuſpecting *them* to have been privy to it, and diverted him and the other Proteſtant leaders from forming any vigorous reſolution of providing for their ſafety. They were all found therefore defenceleſs and unprepared.

In that horrid ſcene which paſſed on the night of the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the Duke

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Duke of Guiſe was the principal actor. But his ſavage ſpirit quickly diffuſed itſelf into every breaſt; and no Catholic declined to aſſiſt him in the execution of his bloody purpoſe. The Admiral, to whom, not many days before, he had pledged his friendſhip, was among the firſt who fell a ſacrifice to his fury. This great man died with a fortitude and tranquillity ſuitable to his character. "Young man," ſaid he to La Beſme (who was ſent into his apartment by the Duke of Guiſe, while Guiſe himſelf remained without till the deed was perpetrated) "you ought to reverence grey hairs; but proceed in the execution of your deſign; you can ſhorten my life but a very little." While he was ſaying this, the aſſaſſin plunged his ſword into his breaſt. At the ſame time all his domeſtics and friends were murdered; among whom was the brave Guerchy, his lieutenant, and his ſon-in-law, the amiable Teligny, who had won even the ſavage heart of Charles, and whoſe engaging aſpect ſuſpended for ſome time the lifted hands of his murderers. But it does not belong to this hiſtory to enter more particularly into the detail of this tranſaction. Upwards of ten thouſand Proteſtants were maſſacred in Paris alone; and in the other cities of the kingdom, between fifty and ſixty thouſand.

Of this horrid maſſacre, the firſt idea is ſaid to have been ſuggeſted to the Queen-mother by Philip, through the Duke of Alva, at conferences held at Bayonne in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine; and it is certain, that intelligence of it was received at Madrid with the utmoſt joy. Philip offered public thankſgiving to Heaven for the deſtruction of his enemies; and wrote to Charles a congratulatory letter on the ſubject. On the other hand, it filled the Proteſtants in the Low Countries with horror and conſternation. Their hopes of obtaining deliverance from the Spaniſh yoke, through the powerful aid of France, had been raiſed to the greateſt height, and their dejection now was in proportion to their former expectations. 1572.

Nothing could be more galling to the Prince of Orange than the news of this diſaſter. Beſides the cruel diſappointment of finding a powerful monarch his mortal enemy, whom he had ſo much reaſon to believe to be his friend, he knew not what dangerous effect this unexpected revolution might produce upon his troops, eſpecially as ſome of them were ſubjects of France, and had entered into his ſervice, under a belief that their King was to ſupport them in their preſent enterpriſe.

Per-

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1572. Operations of the Prince of Orange.

PERCEIVING, therefore, the neceſſity of puſhing forward his operations with the utmoſt vigour, and being perſuaded, that, without ſome ſignal inſtance of ſucceſs, he could not long ſupport his army, he advanced without delay towards Mons; being reſolved to try every expedient, not only to raiſe the ſiege, but if poſſible to bring on a general engagement.

THE Duke eaſily penetrated into his deſign, and omitted nothing in his power to prevent him from carrying it into execution. After the arrival of ſeveral German auxiliaries in his camp, his army was ſuperior in number, as it had always been in diſcipline, to that of the Prince; and he could not have much reaſon to dread the event of a battle, in caſe he ſhould find it unavoidable. But knowing that the fate of battles is decided ſometimes by accidents, againſt which no human prudence can provide; and conſidering, that the Prince's army, through the ſcantineſs of his funds, would probably ſoon fall to pieces of itſelf, he reſumed the principles on which he had acted in the time of William's former expedition, and reſolved to avoid expoſing his troops to any unneceſſary riſk; hoping, that, by tiring out the enemy, he ſhould be able to triumph over them

them without fighting. With this view, while he inveſted the town on every ſide, and prevented any ſupplies from being thrown into it, he entrenched his camp ſo ſtrongly, as to render it entirely impracticable for the Prince of Orange to force his lines. He fortified the ſeveral paſſes by which the town might be approached in the ſtrongeſt manner; watched over every operation himſelf, with indefatigable attention; and forbade his men to engage in the ſlighteſt ſkirmiſh with the enemy, whatever provocation they might receive. 1572.

After having taken theſe precautions, he ſent out five hundred horſe to reconnoitre. They were met by nearly the ſame number of German horſe, commanded by Count Henry, William's youngeſt brother, who being ambitious to diſtinguiſh himſelf in this his firſt campaign, attacked the Spaniards with uncommon fury, and after killing many of them, broke their ranks, and drove them back in great confuſion. The Prince himſelf followed ſoon afterwards with all his army, and drew it up in battle array before the Duke of Alva's camp.

But Alva, more determined than ever ſince the repulſe of the cavalry to adhere to his plan, kept all his men within their entrenchments. The Prince of Orange omitted nothing in his power

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power to induce him to change his purpoſe. He ſhifted his ground, intercepted the convoys of proviſions, attacked foragers, and ſent out parties on every ſide, with a view to entice the enemy to quit their lines.

THERE were perſons in the Spaniſh camp who condemned their general's conduct on this occaſion, and exhorted him to put to proof that courage of which the enemy were ſo extremely oſtentatious. Among theſe was the Archbiſhop of Cologne[c], whoſe ardent ſpirit breathed nothing but war and battle, and who could not reliſh thoſe cautious maxims by which the Duke of Alva had reſolved to regulate his conduct. Alva remained equally firm againſt the importunities of his friends, and the arts that were practiſed by the enemy. It was a maxim often in his mouth, that as all human events are precarious, the moſt precarious of all is a battle; to which he added, that it ought not to be the aim of a General to fight, but to overcome; and that there were other means by which this aim might be accompliſhed more effectually than by fighting.

BUT although his conduct was not approved by the Archbiſhop of Cologne, he had the ſatiſ-

[c] The Count of Iſenberg.

faction

faction to know that it gave the greateſt uneaſi- BOOK
neſs to the Prince of Orange; who perceived, XI.
that if an opportunity did not offer ſoon of 1572.
ſtriking ſome important blow, by which he might raiſe the ſiege, it would not be poſſible for him to keep his army together. His finances did not enable him to bring proviſions from a diſtance, and all the country round had been plundered by the Spaniards. Being driven therefore to deſpair, he made a bold effort to break through the enemy's entrenchments; but this adventurous attempt, which nothing could juſtify but the urgent motive that incited him, was attended with ſuch an iſſue as he had reaſon to expect. His men were bravely repulſed, and a conſiderable loſs ſuſtained.

He now relinquiſhed all hopes of either raiſing the ſiege, or forcing an engagement; and he reſolved to leave Hainault, after attempting to introduce ſuch ſupplies into the town as might enable the garriſon to hold out till Winter, when the Duke of Alva would be obliged to retire. For this purpoſe, he made choice of two thouſand horſe and one thouſand foot, the flower of his army. There was only a ſingle paſs by which they could have acceſs to the town, and at that place Alva had built a ſtrong fort, of which he committed the defence to a ſelect body of Spaniſh troops, under the

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command of Sancio d'Avila and Julio Romero. Notwithſtanding this precaution, which left hardly a poſſibility of ſucceſs, the troops deſtined for the relief of Mons advanced towards the paſs with the utmoſt intrepidity. Romero and D'Avila received them with equal intrepidity; and were ſeconded by the guns of the fort. The combat was hot and furious. There was a briſk cannonading during the time of it from the two armies, and from the town; but the fire from the fort did the greateſt execution; and the Germans, after ſeveral hundreds of their number had fallen, were at laſt obliged to abandon their attempt.

The Prince is obliged to leave Hainault.

THE Prince of Orange, now convinced of the impoſſibility of relieving the beſieged in oppoſition to ſo powerful an army, immediately decamped. The Duke of Alva followed him next day with moſt of his forces, and in every movement diſcovered the moſt conſummate ſkill; ſo that he at once prevented the Prince from returning towards Mons, and avoided being reduced himſelf to the neceſſity of fighting. It was not long before he learned that there was not the ſame good order in the Prince's army, which had hitherto been obſerved in it. William's authority over his troops had ſuffered greatly by the failure of his late attempts; and he was unable any longer

to

to maintain that perfect diſcipline without which no army, however numerous, can be formidable.

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ALVA readily embraced the opportunity which this circumſtance afforded him. Having taken a view in perſon of the enemy's quarters, he reſolved to attack them in the night. He committed the charge of this enterpriſe to Julio Romero, and gave him two thouſand choſen infantry, who were ordered to be ready to march in the middle of the night, each with a ſhirt over his armour, to enable them to diſtinguiſh one another. They fell with great fury on the Germans, who were ſtationed to guard the camp; and as moſt of them were faſt aſleep, they made dreadful havoc among them, till the alarm was communicated to the reſt, who were ſoon rouſed by the groans and ſhrieks of the wounded. At firſt, believing that the whole Spaniſh army had attacked them, they fled precipitately. The aſſailants had in the beginning ſet fire to the tents, and many of the Germans periſhed in the flames. But this circumſtance, by which the horror of the ſcene was augmented, ſaved the German army from deſtruction. It diſcovered the number of the Spaniards, and made it eaſier for the

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Prince of Orange to draw up his men, and to know in what quarter he might find the enemy. But the aſſailants perceiving that the whole camp was up in arms, made their retreat in time, and eluded the vengeance which they ſaw approaching. By the favour of the night they eſcaped with little loſs, after having put to the ſword near five hundred of the Germans.

THE conſequences of this diſaſter were more pernicious to the Prince of Orange than the diſaſter itſelf. It filled his troops with conſternation, and gave them a formidable idea of the Spaniards, whom, on account of their having ſo often declined fighting, they had been accuſtomed to deſpiſe. Without waiting for orders, they haſtily decamped with one conſent, and left a part of their baggage a prey to the enemy. They had not candour to acknowledge, that the misfortune which had befallen them on the preceding night was owing to their negligence in obeying orders. They were diſpoſed to throw the blame of it upon their General, and began to complain, that inſtead of enriching them with ſpoil, he had brought them into the Low Countries, only to expoſe them to perpetual hardſhips and diſtreſs. He found means, however,

however, at this time to quiet their minds, and in ſome meaſure to rectify their opinion of his conduct. BOOK XI. 1572.

THE Duke of Alva was on this occaſion urged by his officers to purſue the Prince till he ſhould drive him entirely out of the Netherlands; but he repeated the old maxim, That it is wiſer to make a bridge for a flying enemy, than to reduce them to deſpair; and returned to the ſiege.

THE Prince of Orange led his troops to Mechlin; and having remained there for ſome days to recruit them after their fatigue, he continued his march northwards, till he had brought them as far as Orſoy in the duchy of Cleves. At that place their ill-humour broke out afreſh with greater violence than ever, and they began to hold private meetings, in which they deliberated, whether, in order to procure payment of their arrears, they ſhould not deliver him up to the Duke of Alva. The principal officers received this ungenerous propoſal with horror and indignation. They were convinced that the Prince had done every thing that could have been done by a General of the moſt conſummate abilities. They knew that he had begun his enterpriſe with the higheſt probability of ſucceſs, He diſbands his army.

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ceſs, and that his failure in it had been almoſt entirely owing to the treacherous dealings of the French King; by truſting to whom, he had engaged in a very different plan of operations from that which he would otherwiſe have adopted. By theſe conſiderations the officers were entirely ſatisfied: and through their influence, the common ſoldiers were perſuaded to relinquiſh their perfidious deſign. The army was immediately diſbanded; and William ſet out for Holland, where the people longed for his arrival.

The ſurrender of Mons.

His retreat from Mons gave his brother, Count Lewis, who was naturally of a ſanguine temper, the deepeſt affliction. And this, joined to the extreme fatigue which he had undergone for ſeveral months before, threw him into a violent diſtemper, which prevented him for ſome time from attending to the ſiege. But during his confinement La Noue conducted the defence with ſo much ſkill and intrepidity, that Alva, deſpairing of being able before Winter to take the town by force, was willing to agree to ſuch terms of capitulation, as Count Lewis thought it not diſhonourable to accept. Theſe were, that the French, Count Lewis, the Flemiſh nobility, and all who were not inhabitants of the place, ſhould leave it with their arms and baggage;

baggage; and that ſuch of the inhabitants as had borne arms might leave it with their effects, but not their arms. That ſuch of them as were Catholics might remain in the town unmoleſted; but that all the Proteſtants ſhould not only depart from the town, but from the Netherlands; and that all perſons, whether citizens or foreigners, ſhould take an oath, that they would not carry arms for the ſpace of a year, either againſt the King of France or the King of Spain; from which oath Count Lewis alone was exempted. This capitulation was ſigned by the Dukes of Alva and Medina Cœli, by Frederic de Toledo and the Baron de Noircarmes; and all the conditions of it were punctually fulfilled. BOOK XI. 1572.

In this manner was Mons recovered from the Proteſtants, after it had been more than three months in their poſſeſſion. The Duke of Alva felt no anxiety with regard to the recovery of the cities which had received the Prince of Orange. They were neither ſtrongly fortified, nor ſufficiently provided with garriſons to defend them. The firſt againſt which he turned his arms was Mechlin; and he ordered his ſon to lead thither the Spaniſh troops, who having received no pay for ſome time, advanced like ſo many famiſhed wolves. Enormities of the Spaniards at Mechlin.

BOOK XI. wolves, with a reſolution to ſatiate their rapacity by plundering the inhabitants.

1572.

On their arrival, the garriſon which had been left in the town by the Prince of Orange ſeemed determined to make reſiſtance; but finding the citizens averſe from co-operating with them, and deſpairing of being able, without their aſſiſtance, to hold out long, they deſerted the place in the night; and next morning all the prieſts and eccleſiaſtics went in ſolemn proceſſion to Toledo's tent, to deprecate his vengeance. When they were pleading the cauſe of the unhappy anxious inhabitants, and repreſenting that only a ſmall number of them had been guilty, while by far the greateſt part had preſerved their allegiance; the ſoldiers, apprehenſive that Toledo might liſten to this apology, and diſappoint them of their prey, ruſhed forward to the city, and broke into it, ſome by the gates, and others, by the help of ſcaling ladders, over the walls. Then ſpreading themſelves like a deluge, they gave a looſe to every ſpecies of violence; butchering ſome, and plundering all without mercy. There was no diſtinction made of age, ſex, or condition. Virgins and matrons were violated before the eyes of their parents and huſbands. The churches and convents were pillaged

pillaged as well as private houſes; and the nuns were not exempted from that brutal luſt and fury, which the Spaniards indulged without control. BOOK XI. 1572.

THE Duke of Alva was ſenſible how great an odium muſt attend ſuch a barbarous treatment of a city, which had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed for its fidelity; yet he choſe to juſtify what had been done, and in a few days afterwards publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared that the citizens had ſuffered no more than their rebellion had deſerved; that juſtice was not yet entirely ſatisfied; that their crime merited a ſtill ſeverer puniſhment, than barely to be deprived of their effects; and that other cities which had already imitated, or ſhould afterwards imitate, their example, might expect, ſooner or later, to meet with the ſame fate. Of the ſacrilege that had been committed on the churches and convents, and the ſhocking treatment of the weaker ſex, no mention was made in the manifeſto, and no excuſe was ever offered for paſſing over theſe enormities with impunity. Great arrears, ſaid the apologiſts of Alva, were at that time due to the ſoldiers; and, as he could not ſatisfy them, he either thought it reaſonable to allow them to take a compenſation for their pay; or, being well acquainted with their ferocious tempers, he

Juſtified by the Duke of Alva.

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he was afraid to exercise his authority. The Spanish soldiers themselves, though little scrupulous with respect to crimes contrary to the laws of nature, justice, and humanity, were afterwards, agreeably to the character of their nation, touched with remorse on account of their violation of the churches; and in order to atone for their guilt they hearkened to the dictates of superstition, and laid out a portion of their plunder in building a house for the Jesuits in Antwerp [c].

Cruelty of the Spaniards at Zutphen.

ALVA having gone to Maestricht, where he dismissed his German horse, went from thence to Brussels, while the Spaniards were permitted to remain at Mechlin for several days, which they employed in collecting their plunder, and sending it off in boats to Antwerp, to be exposed to sale. Toledo then led them against the other cities which had received German garrisons. These garrisons fled on his approach; and the people agreed to pay exorbitant contributions to save their cities from being sacked: nor did he meet with any opposition in his progress, till he came to Zutphen, which was at that time a place of considerable strength. It was defended with a wall flanked with bastions, and surrounded with a deep

[c] Meteren, p. 107. Campana, p. 97. Bentiv. p. 114.

ditch.

ditch. The Iſſel waſhes the fortifications on one ſide, the Berkel on another; and the ground on the other two ſides is ſo extremely wet and marſhy as to render the place, for the greateſt part of the year, almoſt inacceſſible. But unfortunately for the Proteſtants in garriſon, they could not avail themſelves of theſe advantages at this juncture; the froſt having ſet in with uncommon ſeverity ſeveral days before the arrival of Toledo. He found no difficulty therefore in approaching the place with his batteries, and he ſoon made a breach in the wall. He was preparing for an aſſault, when he received intelligence, that the garriſon, and all ſuch as had rendered themſelves obnoxious, had gone out of the town by the oppoſite gate; and that the citizens who remained were now, when left at liberty to act agreeably to their inclination, willing immediately to ſurrender at diſcretion. But Toledo having, by the ſmall reſiſtance which the garriſon had made, got a pretext for plundering this unhappy people, refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation, and ordered his troops to advance. They entered the town without oppoſition, and repeated there the ſame ſhocking barbarities which they had exerciſed in Mechlin, with this difference, that as there was much leſs booty in Zutphen, to ſatisfy their rapacity, they indulged their cruelty

1572.

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cruelty ſo much the more. They put to the ſword all the citizens who fell in their way, men and women without diſtinction; and when they were tired with ſlaughtering, they caſt great numbers into the Iſſel, and indulged themſelves in the horrid joy of beholding the unhappy ſufferers periſh in the ſtream. By the ſword and water, above five hundred periſhed; and the reſt were obliged to redeem their lives by the moſt oppreſſive contributions, which were ſo cruelly exacted, that the living had reaſon to envy the fate of thoſe whom death had delivered from ſuch intolerable miſery[f].

[f] Meteren, p. 110. Bentivoglio, p. 115. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 98.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XII.

WHILE the Spaniſh army was employed in the ſiege of Mons, and in ſubduing the other revolted towns in the ſouthern provinces, the people of Holland and Zealand improved the leiſure which was afforded them, by taking every precaution in their power to ſecure themſelves from being again reduced under the Spaniſh yoke. They increaſed the number of their ſhips of war, completed their fortifications, and levied ſo great a number of forces, as, with the great advantages of their ſituation, they hoped would be ſufficient for their defence.

1572. Tranſactions in Holland and Zealand.

BEFORE

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1572.

Philip paſſes from the taxes of the 10th and 20th penny in June.

BEFORE the Duke of Alva ſet out for Mons, he had, agreeably to orders tranſmitted to him from Spain, read, in preſence of the States of Brabant, Artois, Hainault, and Flanders, a declaration, that he would paſs from the taxes of the tenth and twentieth pennies, on condition that the States would deviſe ſome other means by which the money neceſſary for the King's ſervice might be raiſed. Intimation was made of this conceſſion to the States of Holland, by the Count of Boſſut; who, in the name of the Governor, commanded them to aſſemble at the Hague, to conſider of what other taxes they would ſubſtitute in the room of thoſe which had been formerly impoſed.

His conceſſion diſregarded by the States.

THIS conceſſion, which, if it had been made ſooner, might have prevented the revolt of the maritime provinces, was not attended with the deſired effect. It excited in the minds of the people the higheſt degree of joy and exultation; but they did not think themſelves indebted for it, either to the King or the Duke of Alva. They aſcribed it wholly to the dread that was entertained of the Prince of Orange, to whom alone they thought themſelves bound for this firſt inſtance of attention that had been ſhewn to their inclination or intereſt ſince Philip's acceſſion to the throne. They could not doubt, that if his apprehenſions

ſions of the German army were removed, Alva would be again permitted to reſume the purſuit of that plan of tyranny which he had been obliged to ſuſpend. They were well acquainted with the vindictive ſpirit which animated Philip's councils. They knew that, for much ſlighter offences than thoſe of which they had been guilty, many thouſands of their countrymen had ſuffered the moſt cruel death; and they believed, that whatever aſſurances might be given them of pardon, the memory of their guilt would never be extinguiſhed but in their blood. By the unrelenting cruelty which had been exerciſed againſt the Proteſtants, added to the contempt which had been ſhewn to their fundamental rights and laws, the people were entirely alienated from Philip's perſon and government. They were convinced that he had reſolved to treat them henceforth, not as ſubjects but as ſlaves; and they had long repined and murmured at their fate. 1572.

FROM the time of Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, all the Proteſtants who had eſcaped from the cruelty of the inquiſitors, had carefully concealed their ſentiments, and conformed to the eſtabliſhed worſhip; but having of late received a great increaſe of number, by the return of many of the exiles, they had thrown off the maſk; and it now appeared, that

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by far the greateſt part of the inhabitants, and even of the deputies of the States, were ſtrongly attached to the reformed religion. Their religious zeal co-operated with their abborrence of the Spaniſh tyranny; and both together inſpired them with a fixed unalterable purpoſe to defend their liberty to the laſt.

They meet at Dort,

PROMPTED by theſe motives, the States paid no regard to the order for aſſembling at the Hague, tranſmitted to them by Boſſut; and that they might the more ſtrongly expreſs their contempt of the Governor's authority, they appointed an aſſembly to be held at Dort. Of this aſſembly they gave early notice to the Prince of Orange, and entreated him to ſend one of his moſt faithful friends, properly inſtructed, to aſſiſt them in their deliberations. The perſon whom the Prince made choice of for this purpoſe, was the Sieur de St. Aldegonde, the author of the compromiſe, who had long been well acquainted with William's moſt ſecret views and ſentiments.

and enter into engagements with the Prince of Orange.

ST. Aldegonde readily undertook the taſk impoſed upon him; and at the firſt meeting of the States, gave them thanks, in the name of the Prince, for the intimation which they had ſent him, of their reſolution to vindicate their liberty under his direction. "The Prince was conſcious,

conſcious, he ſaid, of being ſeriouſly intereſted in the welfare of all the provinces, and of none more than thoſe of Holland and Zealand, which for ſeveral years had been the objects of his particular attention. From time to time he had heard with indignation and grief, of the diſtreſs and miſery to which they had been reduced through the Spaniſh tyranny; and there was nothing which he deſired more ardently, than to be inſtrumental in recovering for them thoſe invaluable rights, which for ages paſt had proved the ſource of their proſperity. In order to accompliſh this end, he had ſpared neither expence nor labour. He had failed in his former attempt for their deliverance, not (he hoped, they would believe) through any negligence or miſconduct, but through the ſuperior power and more copious reſources of the enemy. In his preſent armament, he had already expended all that remained of his once ample fortune; and as in levying his army, he had truſted in a great meaſure to the aſſiſtance which they had promiſed him; now was the time to fulfil that promiſe, and to enable him to begin his military operations without delay."

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THE States, who knew the truth of what St. Aldegonde had repreſented, and were ſenſible how much the ſucceſs of William's

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enterprise depended on his receiving an immediate supply, sent him without delay a hundred thousand florins, which they borrowed from the more wealthy citizens; and promised to send him more as soon as it could be raised, either from the ordinary taxes, or from the revenues of the monasteries, which were at that time converted into a fund for carrying on the war. After this transaction, a solemn declaration in writing was delivered to St. Aldegonde, in which they engaged to acknowledge the Prince of Orange as the only lawful Governor or Stadtholder of the Province; appointed him commander in chief of all their forces by sea and land; and engaged, that without his consent, they should not listen to any terms of peace which might be offered; St. Aldegonde, on the other hand, engaging in the name of the Prince, that he would not lay down his arms, nor enter into any accommodation or treaty, without the knowledge and approbation of the States[g].

Their distress.

The States exerted themselves strenuously to perform their promises of supplies. They sent him two hundred thousand florins, which he received at Ruremonde, in his way to Mons, and gave him security for three hun-

[g] Meursii Auriacus, p. 84.

dred

dred thouſand. When the news were brought them of his retreat, and the neceſſity under which he found himſelf of diſbanding his army, they were exceedingly dejected; and were filled with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions, when they conſidered that the Duke of Alva, having no enemy in the field to oppoſe his progreſs, was now at liberty to employ all his forces united in taking vengeance on them for their contempt of his authority. 1572.

Amſterdam adheres to the Spaniards.

THEIR diſtreſs was much increaſed by the inflexible obſtinacy of the city of Amſterdam, in adhering to the Spaniſh intereſt; which did not proceed ſo much from the general inclination of the citizens, as from the care which the Duke of Alva had taken to preſerve the government of that city in the hands of the moſt rigid Catholics. By an order of the States, Lumey, Count de la Marc, had beſieged it with a conſiderable body of troops; but after making ſome progreſs in his operations, he deſpaired of ſucceſs, and ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege. He aſcribed the miſcarriage of his attempt to the negligence of the States, in ſupplying him with proviſions. The States, on the other hand, threw the blame entirely upon the Count. They had been for ſome time paſt extremely diſſatisfied with his conduct, on account of the cruelties which he

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had allowed his troops to exercise against the Catholics; and they believed that they should never be able to persuade the people of Amsterdam to unite with the other cities in the province, while their army was under the command of a person who had rendered himself so exceedingly obnoxious [h].

Outrages committed by their troops.

Loud complaints of the outrages of the soldiers were heard in every quarter, and many of the people began to lament the revolution to which they had given their consent. The States dreaded the consequences of so much ill-humour. But they were not possessed of power sufficient to remedy the abuses complained of; and La Marc, who was naturally violent and ferocious, paid no regard to their commands. In this distress, they had no resource, but in the prudence and authority of the Prince of Orange, who, they hoped, would, notwithstanding his late misfortunes, be able to repress the insolence of the soldiers and their general. They sent him notice of the critical situation to which they were reduced; and they intreated him to come as soon as possible, to take the government of the province, and the command of the forces into his own hand.

[h] Meursii Auriacus, p. 95.

William

1572.

William could not, either with ſafety or honour, have left his army ſooner than he did. From Orſoy, where it was diſbanded, he went, attended only by his own domeſtics, and a company of horſe, to Campen in Overyſſel, and from thence he paſſed over the Zuider Sea, to Enchuyſen; where he was joyfully received, and all his directions for the greater ſecurity of the place were carried immediately into execution. After ſtaying there for ſome days, and viſiting the other towns in the province, he ſet out for Haerlem; having appointed a convention of the States to be held in that city, to conſider of the preſent ſituation of their affairs.

Arrival of the Prince of Orange in Holland.

His arrival excited in perſons of all ranks the moſt unfeigned joy; but this joy, he perceived, was greatly allayed by their apprehenſions of being unable to reſiſt an enemy, before whom he himſelf, at the head of a powerful army, had been obliged to retire. The firſt object of his attention was to raiſe their drooping ſpirits, by making them ſenſible of the advantages which they poſſeſſed in the nature and ſituation of their country; which, while they retained their ſuperiority at ſea, and acted in concert, would render abortive all the attempts of the Spaniards to reduce them. The magnanimity which he diſplayed diffuſed itſelf into every breaſt; and the deputies unanimouſly declared,

His magnanimity.

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clared, that they would be entirely governed by his councils in all their conduct, and would lay down their lives ſooner than abandon that invaluable liberty, without which they thought life itſelf was not deſirable.

His moderation and ſalutary regulations.

In the preſent temper of their minds, William might have ruled the people of the maritime provinces with an abſolute ſway; but he knew there was a much ſafer, as well as a more effectual, method of exerciſing power, and wiſely reſolved to conſult the States in every matter of importance, and to take upon himſelf only the execution of their commands. For this purpoſe he frequently convened them; and in order to give greater weight to their deciſions, he perſuaded them to admit into their number the deputies of twelve other cities, beſides thoſe of whom their aſſembly had been hitherto compoſed: a meaſure which was no leſs gracious and popular, than it was wiſe and prudent. It flattered the vanity of thoſe towns on which the new privilege was beſtowed; engaged them to contribute with greater alacrity their ſhare of the public expences; and drew the ſeveral diſtricts of the province into a ſtate of more intimate union with one another.

With the States, thus increaſed in number, the Prince applied himſelf to rectify the diſorders which had prevailed, and to put the pro-

vince into a poſture of defence againſt the Spaniards. It had been deſerted during the late commotions by many of the principal inhabitants, by ſeveral members of the courts of juſtice, and by the officers of the revenue, and others who held public employments; which they had been induced to abandon, either by their attachment to popery, or the diffidence in the duration and ſtability of the preſent government. The numerous vacancies which were thus occaſioned, were ſupplied with Proteſtants; and no Catholic was admitted into any office, or allowed to take any concern in the adminiſtration of public affairs.

1572.

THE exerciſe of the Romiſh religion was prohibited in the churches; and the only worſhip permitted to be exerciſed publicly, was the Proteſtant, as taught by Calvin, and practiſed in Geneva, and the Palatinate. Thus far the Prince of Orange complied with the inclination of the people, by a great majority of whom the principles of the Reformers had been embraced. But all perſecution on account of religion, he diſcouraged to the utmoſt of his power. His reaſonings for toleration were more ſucceſsful now in favour of the Papiſts, than they had been formerly with the Ducheſs of Parma, in behalf of the Reformers. The States, by his perſuaſion, reſolved that no perſon whatever ſhould be moleſted on account of his

Eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion.

BOOK XII. 1572. his religion, provided that he lived quietly, kept no correſpondence with the Spaniards, and gave no diſturbance to the eſtabliſhed mode of worſhip [i].

WILLIAM found greater difficulty in reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the army, than in ſettling either the courts of juſtice or the church. When we reflect on thoſe horrid ſcenes which were exhibited in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alva and his aſſociates, it will not appear ſurpriſing, that the Proteſtants ſhould have conceived the moſt violent animoſity againſt their bloody perſecutors. They had ſeen their deareſt relations and friends, beſides many perſons whom they revered on account of the innocence and ſanctity of their lives, treated like the moſt flagitious malefactors: and many of themſelves had, in order to avoid the ſame fate, been obliged to abandon their habitations, and to wander from place to place, forlorn and indigent. In the bitterneſs of their diſtreſs, they had forgotten the ſpirit of that religion for which they ſuffered; and on many occaſions, wreaked their vengeance againſt their enemies with a brutal fury. To the Spaniards who were taken priſoners at ſea, the Proteſtants on board the fleet gave no quarter; while the

[i] Grotius, p. 41.

eccle-

ecclesiastics, and many others whose only crime was their adherence to the religion of their ancestors, were treated by the Protestant soldiers with equal inhumanity. BOOK XII. 1572.

THE Count of la Marc, commander in chief of the forces, was so far from opposing these enormities, that he encouraged his soldiers in committing them. This nobleman's principal virtue was intrepidity, and under the cloak of zeal for liberty, and the reformed religion, he seems to have intended nothing so much as the gratification of his avarice or revenge. The Prince of Orange, who, from his natural humanity, and a prudent regard to future consequences, was utterly averse to every species of violence, attempted to make him sensible of the folly and iniquity of his conduct. But finding that he was not likely to succeed, and that the soldiers still indulged themselves without controul in their wonted excesses, he referred the matter to the cognizance of the States, and desired them to consider coolly what was proper to be done. The States, who were highly incensed against the Count, for his contempt of their authority, deprived him of his command, and ordered him to be apprehended. William, unwilling to forget the services which the Count had performed in the beginning of the revolt, soon after interposed in Lumey de la Marc.

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in his behalf, and prevailed upon the States to releaſe him. But La Marc could not digeſt the affront which had been offered him. He complained loudly of the States for their ingratitude; boaſted of his authority in the fleet and army, and attempted to excite a ſpirit of ſedition among the people. The States were meditating to ſeize him a ſecond time, in order to bring him to his trial. But the Prince of Orange, prompted by tenderneſs for his relations, and a ſenſe of his former ſervices, diſſuaded them from executing their deſign, and adviſed them to ſuffer him to leave the province. The States liſtened, though with ſome reluctance, to this advice, and the Count having left the Netherlands, died ſoon afterwards in the city of Liege.

THE command of the forces was conferred on the Count of Battenburg, by whom they were brought under proper diſcipline; and all ſuch of the Catholics as choſe to remain in the country delivered from thoſe alarms and apprehenſions with which they had been hitherto diſquieted. One cauſe of the great irregularities which had been committed by the troops, was the want of proper funds for their ſubſiſtence. The States now ſupplied this defect, as well as the preſent circumſtances of the province would allow. To the payment of the army,

army, and other public purpoſes, they appropriated the demeſnes which the King had enjoyed as Count of Holland, the revenues of the Romiſh prieſts and monaſteries, and the eſtates of all ſuch Catholics as had gone over to the enemy, beſides a certain proportion of the captures made at ſea[k]. BOOK XII. 1572.

Progreſs of the Spaniſh arms.

WHILE the Prince of Orange and the States were thus employed in providing for the ſecurity of Holland, Frederic de Toledo had made rapid progreſs in reducing the towns which had revolted in the other provinces; nor did he find much difficulty in ſubduing them; for ſo great was the terror which they had conceived from his late ſucceſs, that of all the towns which had declared for the Prince of Orange in Groningen, Overyſſel, Utrecht, and Frieſland, there was none that did not ſend ambaſſadors to Toledo, to deprecate his vengeance, and to make profeſſion of unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his will. He placed garriſons in the moſt conſiderable towns, and inflicted no other puniſhment upon the people but pecuniary fines. Had he maintained the ſame moderation in his conduct afterwards, he would not perhaps have encountered much greater difficulty in the recovery of ſome of the towns of Holland and Zealand, than he

[k] Grotius, p. 40. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 97.

had

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had met with in recovering thoſe of the interior provinces; but from natural temper, he rejoiced infinitely more in rigour and ſeverity, than in lenity and moderation; of the truth of which he gave a ſignal proof in his barbarous treatment of the inhabitants of Naerden.

Maſſacre of the people of Naerden.

THIS town was then neither large nor ſtrongly fortified, yet the citizens, prompted by ſome foreign Proteſtants who reſided in it, were bold enough to refuſe admittance to a company of horſe, ſent by Toledo before his main army, to require their ſubmiſſion; but, having quickly repented of their raſhneſs, they diſpatched a deputation of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants, among whom was Lambertus Hortenſius, a man eminent for his learning, to Amersfort, where Toledo had arrived in his way to Naerden. He declined hearing the ambaſſadors himſelf, and deſired them to apply to Julio Romero, who had power, he ſaid, to grant them ſuch terms of reconcilement as *he* ſhould judge to be reaſonable. By Romero it was agreed, that the lives and fortunes of the citizens ſhould be ſpared on the following conditions: That the town ſhould be immediately delivered into the hands of Toledo; that all the inhabitants ſhould renew their oath of allegiance to the King; and that one hundred Spaniſh ſoldiers

diers ſhould be permitted to ſeize as much booty as they could carry at one time out of the city. In ratification of this agreement, Romero, having given his right hand three ſeveral times to Hortenſius, entered the town, attended by ſo ſmall a number of Spaniards as baniſhed from the minds of the citizens all apprehenſions of fraud or violence; and when he ſummoned them to meet in one of the churches to take the oath of allegiance, they ran thither unarmed, and preſented themſelves a defenceleſs prey to their bloody murderers. Whether Romero acted in concert with Toledo does not appear from the cotemporary hiſtorians. This only is certain, that while the former was employed in adminiſtering the oath; the latter, who had brought forward his troops to the gates of the town, led them directly to the church in which the citizens were aſſembled, and ordering the doors, which till then had been kept ſhut, to be thrown open, he ruſhed into it at the head of his troops, and immediately killed with his own hand the principal magiſtrate. The Spaniards were not backward to imitate the example of their General. They fell with ſavage fury on the aſtoniſhed, defenceleſs citizens, and after butchering all that were in the church, ſpread themſelves over the city, and put every perſon whom they met to the ſword. They made no diſtinction between the inno-

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cent and the guilty; the Catholics, as well as Proteſtants; thoſe who had preſerved their allegiance, as well as thoſe who had thrown it off, were all involved in one promiſcuous ruin. The ſoldiers then entering into the houſes, where they found the wives and daughters of the ſlain overwhelmed with anguiſh, inſtead of being ſoftened by the ſight of ſo much unmerited diſtreſs in that tender ſex, their ſavage hearts only prompted them to indulge their avarice, their cruelty, and their luſt. Even virgins under age they violated, and others they tortured in the moſt inhuman manner, either from a wanton pleaſure which they took in cruel deeds, or to extort from the unhappy ſufferers a diſcovery of the treaſure which had belonged to their murdered huſbands or parents. They ſtrangled ſome, embrued their hands in the blood of others, turned all the reſt of the city into the open fields, and then throwing fire into the houſes, reduced the town to aſhes.

THE accounts tranſmitted to us by the Proteſtant writers of the horrid cruelty which the Spaniards exerciſed on this occaſion, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the Catholic hiſtorians. There was an hoſpital in the town for old men, and at that time there were ſeveral in it above eighty years of age; even theſe were butchered; nor did perſons

perſons confined to the bed of ſickneſs and diſtreſs eſcape their fury. The life of Lambertus Hortenſius was ſaved by the interpoſition of the Count de Boſſut; but the Spaniards made him ſuffer what was worſe than death; by murdering the ſon, and tearing his heart out of his body before the father's eyes. There is another inſtance of their cruelty recorded, which is, if poſſible, ſtill more inhuman. After having tortured in the moſt ſhocking manner one of the citizens, to make him diſcover where he had concealed his wealth, they diſhonoured his wife in his preſence, and upon his reproaching them with their barbarity, they put him to death; then having tied the woman's hands behind her, they bound her by the feet to a beam of the houſe, with her head downward, and left her to die in that poſture, with her little ſon, whom they likewiſe bound and placed beſide her, to aggravate the miſery of that dreadful death to which their cruelty had doomed her[1]. BOOK XII. 1572.

From this horrid maſſacre, Toledo led his army to Amſterdam, where he remained for ſome time in expectation that, from the dread of his vengeance, the other towns of

[1] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 98. Thuani, lib. liv. Bentivoglio, p. 115.

the

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the province would be induced to make a tender of their ſubmiſſion; but the cruelty and treachery which he had exerciſed at Naerden, were not more contrary to the laws of religion and humanity, than inconſiſtent with the maxims of ſound policy, and were calculated not ſo much to excite terror as revenge and indignation. From the fate of Naerden, the people were convinced, that there was at leaſt as much to be dreaded from ſubmiſſion as from reſiſtance, and they thought it no leſs abſurd than dangerous, to enter into terms of agreement with men who had ſhown themſelves ſo cruelly perfidious.

Siege of Haerlem.

Of this they ſoon gave a conſpicuous proof in their vigorous and obſtinate defence of Haerlem. To gain over the inhabitants of that city, Toledo had employed the mediation of the Catholics of Amſterdam, and ſome of the magiſtrates of Haerlem had ſent privately three of their number to Frederic to treat with him of a ſurrender. This was no ſooner known, than Riperda, a Frieſland gentleman, to whom the Prince of Orange had committed the government of the town, called together the principal inhabitants, and informed them of what had paſſed. "By a ſolemn oath," ſaid he, "the magiſtrates were lately bound not to liſten, without your permiſſion, to any propoſals,

Riperda's ſpeech.

poſals, or to engage in any deſign or enterpriſe by which the general intereſt of the city might be affected, yet, not only without your permiſſion, but even without your knowledge, they have ſent an embaſſy to treat with Toledo about delivering the city to the Spaniards. We are unable, they pretend, to withſtand ſo great a force as will be brought againſt us, and muſt be involved in all the miſeries of a cruel ſiege, unleſs we avert them by a timely application for peace and pardon. But have the Spaniards treated with greater lenity thoſe who have truſted to their faith, than thoſe who have oppoſed them? Have the people of Mechlin and Zutphen been dealt with more mercifully than thoſe of Mons? Does not the melancholy fate of Naerden ſufficiently inſtruct you how little regard is due to the promiſes of thoſe men, who have now ſhewn themſelves no leſs devoid of faith than we have ever found them of humanity? Are not the ſtreets of that unhappy city ſtill reeking with the blood of thoſe who confided in the faith and mercy of the Spaniards? By ſtanding on our defence we may elude their fury; but if we receive them into the city, we ruſh headlong upon deſtruction. They will either butcher us like ſheep, after they have ſtripped us of our arms, or reduce us to a ſtate of ignominious ſlavery and bondage. Do not flatter yourſelves with the hopes that they are

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willing to be reconciled to you. They intend only to take advantage of your ſimplicity, and to get you into their power, without expoſing themſelves to danger. Have you not already ſworn to act the part to which I now exhort you, to defend your walls againſt the Spaniards, and to preſerve your allegiance to the Prince of Orange, whom you have acknowledged as the only lawful governor of the province? And in order to ſave ourſelves from the hardſhips of a ſiege, ſhall we imitate that vile example of treachery, which in our enemies appears ſo odious? Let us derive courage, my friends, from the juſtneſs of our cauſe; and rather than ſubmit to ſuch an enemy, let us reſolve to die, fighting glorioufly in defence of our religion, our liberty, and laws."

This ſpeech was received with ſhouts of high applauſe by all the audience. They cried out with one voice; "No peace with the Spaniards; we will ſhed the laſt drop of our blood, rather than open our gates to ſo perfidious an enemy." Riperda then ſent information to the Prince of Orange, who was at this time in Delft, of the reſolution which they had formed. And, in return, William encouraged the citizens to perſevere, by aſſuring them that the other cities in the province would exert themſelves with vigour

in their behalf. Immediately after which he reinforced the garriſon with four companies of Germans; and ſent St. Aldegonde with a commiſſion to put the adminiſtration of the town in the hands of ſuch as were ſincerely attached to the reformed religion. Of the three ambaſſadors who had treated with the Spaniards, one remained with Toledo, and the other two were, upon their return to Haerlem, put under arreſt, and ſent to Delft, where, after being tried, they were condemned as traitors. One of them died in priſon, and the other was executed publicly: an inſtance of ſeverity, with which the Prince of Orange was not diſpleaſed, as it tended to deter the Catholics in the other cities from holding correſpondence with the enemy.

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THE news of theſe unexpected events excited, in the fiery tempers of Toledo and his father, the higheſt degree of wrath and indignation. They immediately gave orders for the march of the troops to Haerlem, and exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in making preparations for carrying on the ſiege with diſpatch and vigour.

HAERLEM was, at the time of this memorable ſiege, the moſt conſiderable town in Holland, next to Amſterdam. It was ſurrounded with a deep ditch and a ſtrong wall,

Deſcription of Haerlem.

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but was of ſo great extent, that it required a numerous garriſon to defend it. It ſtands beautifully in the midſt of an extenſive plain, having a wood on one ſide, and a branch of the river Sparen on the other; and the other branch of that river paſſes through the town, and then falls into the lake, or as it is ſometimes called, the ſea of Haerlem. Amſterdam and Leyden are nearly at the diſtance of between three and four leagues from it; the former lying towards the eaſt, and the latter towards the ſouth. From Amſterdam and Utrecht, Toledo propoſed to furniſh his army with proviſions; and the people of Haerlem expected to derive the ſame advantage from the neighbourhood of Leyden; where, in order to aſſiſt them more effectually, the Prince of Orange now fixed his reſidence.

THE neareſt way by which the Spaniſh army could approach to Haerlem, was by the fort of Sparendam, the rampart of which ſtood on the dyke along which the troops muſt paſs. In this fort Riperda had placed a garriſon of three hundred men, and had begun to employ the country people in breaking down the dyke, in order to lay the country under water. But the froſt having ſet in with uncommon ſeverity, rendered all their labour fruitleſs, and gave the Spaniards eaſy acceſs to the fort. The garriſon made a vigorous reſiſtance for ſome time;

but being attacked on every ſide, and over- BOOK
powered by ſuperior numbers, they were at XII.
length compelled to retire to Haerlem. 1572.

TOLEDO followed ſoon after with his army, Toledo begins the ſiege.
which conſiſted of between twelve and thirteen thouſand men; ſix thouſand of whom were natives of Spain, and the reſt Walloons and Germans. He had juſt begun to aſſign them their ſeveral ſtations, when he received intelligence that a body of troops, amounting to near three thouſand men, with cannon and proviſions, were upon their march from Leyden, with an intention to enter Haerlem, before the blockade was formed. He ſet out immediately to intercept them, and had the good fortune, during a fall of ſnow, to come upon them unawares, near the village of Berkenrode. His troops being greatly ſuperior in number to the enemy, broke their ranks at the firſt onſet, and having killed between ſix and ſeven hundred, put the reſt to flight. Their officers endeavoured to rally them, but in vain. They fled precipitately, and left their cannon and proviſions a prey to the victorious army.

FLUSHED with this ſucceſs, Toledo returned Progreſs of the ſiege.
immediately to the ſiege. Having ſtationed the Walloons and Germans on the great road which leads to Leyden, he himſelf, with the

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Spaniards, took poſſeſſion of an hoſpital, which lay near the gate of the croſs. At this place he reſolved to begin his operations, although the gate was covered by a ſtrong ravelin, and the wall on that ſide could be more eaſily defended than in any other quarter. Into this blunder he was betrayed, not ſo much by ignorance or inadvertence, as by the contempt which he entertained for the beſieged. After the ſucceſs with which his arms had every where been attended, he did not expect to meet with the ſmalleſt difficulty in his preſent enterpriſe; and flattered himſelf that Haerlem, like the other revolted cities, would, as ſoon as he ſhould begin his attack, open her gates to receive him. From the ſame preſumption, he neglected all the precautions which are uſually taken in ſieges; and, without opening trenches to cover his men from the enemy's fire, he planted his battery, and began to cannonade the gate and ravelin. He had no ſooner made a breach, than he reſolved to ſtorm it, and for this purpoſe ordered one hundred and fifty men to croſs the ditch, by means of a portable bridge. This detachment was ordered to return, in caſe the breach ſhould be found impracticable. But the reſt of the ſoldiers, who were not leſs confident of ſucceſs than their General, and were impelled by their avidity for plunder, without waiting for the word

word of command, ran forward to the bridge, and paſſed over it in great numbers. They ſoon perceived their error. The breach was not near ſo conſiderable as they had imagined, and their ſcaling-ladders were too ſhort. The narrowneſs of the bridge, which permitted only three men to march a-breaſt, threw them into confuſion. They ſtood on the brink of the ditch, crowded together, and expoſed to the muſquetry as well as cannon of the beſieged. Still, however, the fooliſh ardor with which they were inſpired, made them unwilling to retire, till Romero, an officer whom they highly reſpected, advanced towards them, and reproached them with the madneſs of their attempt. "Do you not perceive," he cried, "that the ſmalleſs of the breach renders your aſſault impracticable? Is this the diſcipline which you have learnt in the ſchool of the Duke of Alva? Thus, without orders, to expoſe yourſelves a defenceleſs prey to theſe rebels, who inſult and butcher you, while they themſelves are out of the reach of danger? You will ſoon find an opportunity to take vengeance on them. At preſent it is not in your power." At length he perſuaded them to retire, but not till he himſelf was wounded, and near two hundred private men, and a great number of officers, had fallen.

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THIS diſaſter ſerved to undeceive Toledo with regard to the facility of his enterpriſe; and he reſolved not to expoſe his troops to any further danger, till he ſhould be fully provided with every thing neceſſary for conducting the ſiege, with leſs expence of blood, and a better proſpect of ſucceſs. For this end, he gave the proper inſtructions to his agents in Utrecht and Amſterdam: but all the roads which led to his camp, were ſo much infeſted by the Hollanders, that a whole month elapſed before he was in a condition to renew his operations againſt the town.

Supplies ſent to the town over the ice.

THE Prince of Orange was more ſucceſsful in his attempts to ſecure it. He could not indeed collect a ſufficient number of troops, either to raiſe the ſiege, or to force his way through the enemy's entrenchments. But the froſt having continued for ſeveral weeks, not only men, but even loaded carriages, could be conveyed over the lake with greater facility than by land. The reader need not be told with what agility the Hollanders tranſport themſelves from one place to another, over the ice, with ſcates. They exerted all their dexterity on this occaſion, and introduced into the city fifteen companies of ſoldiers, together with a great number of ſledges loaded with proviſions and ammunition.

IN

In the mean time Toledo had prepared every thing requiſite for reſuming the operations of the ſiege; and he now haſtened to repair the faults which he had committed in the beginning; proceeding with greater caution than before, but with the ſame activity and vigour. Having by trenches ſecured his troops againſt the fire of the beſiegers, he began to batter the town with his artillery; and at the ſame time employed his miners, of whom the Duke of Alva had ſent him three thouſand from the biſhopric of Liege, in working mines, and ſapping the foundation of the walls. Neither labour nor danger was avoided. But the boldneſs and vigilance of the citizens and garriſon were in proportion to the means employed to ſubdue them. By countermines, they either prevented, or rendered ineffectual, the mines of the beſiegers; and no ſooner was a breach made in the fortifications, than ditches were dug, or ſome ſudden bulwark raiſed behind it, by which all acceſs was rendered as difficult as ever. Not ſatisfied with acting on the defenſive, they often ſallied out upon the beſiegers, deſtroyed their works, and fell upon them ſword in hand, when they were the leaſt prepared to repel their attacks. 1572.

While the Spaniards were thus kept in perpetual occupation and anxiety, the Prince of Orange

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Orange laboured aſſiduouſly to increaſe their difficulties, by ſending out flying parties to intercept their convoys of proviſions. Some of theſe attempts proved ſucceſsful; and as they made it neceſſary for Toledo to ſend large detachments from his army to guard his convoys, they facilitated the introduction of ſupplies into Haerlem, and retarded the progreſs of the ſiege.

Uſeleſs cruelty exerciſed by both parties.

ALMOST all the ſupplies of the Spaniſh army came from Amſterdam, and there was but one road by which they could be conveyed. In order to take poſſeſſion of an important paſs on that road, the Prince had ſent a detachment of troops under Anthony le Peintre, who had a principal concern in the ſurpriſe of Mons. The Catholics of Amſterdam having received information of this deſign, diſpatched a number of forces, ſufficient not only to ſecure the paſs, but to engage with the enemy. The two parties came to blows; the Proteſtants were routed, and many of them ſlain; among whom was le Peintre their commander. In deriſion of the beſieged, the Spaniards having cut off the heads of le Peintre and of another officer killed in that rencounter, whoſe name was Coning or King, they threw them over the walls into the city, with an inſcription tied to the head of Coning, which bore, beſides his name,

name; upon which they jeſted awkwardly, that he was come with two thouſand auxiliaries to raiſe the ſiege. Of this inſult the Haerlemeſe ſhewed their reſentment, by an action equally barbarous. They beheaded twelve of their Spaniſh priſoners; and then put all their heads into a caſk, which they rolled down into the trenches, after writing upon it, "The tax of the tenth penny to the Duke of Alva, with the intereſt due to him on account of the delay of payment." In revenge for this barbarity, the Spaniards hung up by the feet and neck a number of priſoners, in ſight of the beſieged; who, in return, put to death ſome more of *their* priſoners, in the ſame ignominious manner, in the view of the Spaniards. Such inſtances of barbarous and uſeleſs cruelty were often practiſed in the beginning of the preſent war; nor were they diſcontinued, till the Duke of Alva and his ſon, who by their example contributed much to the ſpreading of this ſavage ſpirit, had left the Netherlands. 1572

Toledo aſſaults the town.

THE operations of the ſiege were in the mean time carried on by Toledo with as much celerity, as the difficulty under which he laboured in furniſhing himſelf with proviſions, and the numberleſs diſeaſes which the ſeverity of the ſeaſon occaſioned among his troops, would allow. By undermining the ravelin which defended the gate of the croſs, he obliged

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obliged the garriſon to abandon it; and after a cannonading, which had laſted for many days, by which he laid a great part of the wall in ruins, he at laſt reſolved to ſtorm the breach with all his forces. For this purpoſe, he drew them together from their ſeveral ſtations in the night; and that he might find the beſieged unprepared, he began the aſſault before day-break. No precaution was neglected to inſure ſucceſs. The orders were explained to all the ſoldiers, particularly and diſtinctly. Each man had his ſtation and part aſſigned him. Some were appointed to ſtand at a proper diſtance from the walls, to annoy the enemy in caſe they ſhould appear; and thoſe who were deſtined for the aſſault were enjoined to obſerve the moſt profound ſilence, till they ſhould make themſelves maſters of the breach. So well was this laſt injunction obſerved, that ſeveral of the Spaniards had mounted the breach, and even ſcaled the walls, before the beſieged were appriſed of their approach. But when they had advanced thus far, they were perceived by the guards, who immediately ſounded the alarm, and tumbled them all headlong, before they had time to put themſelves into a poſture of defence.

Is repulſed.

THIS aſſault was made near the ravelin of which the Spaniards had got poſſeſſion ſome days

days before; and in order to second the aſſailants, many Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers were ſtanding upon the ravelin, and a great number round it. The townſmen having reſolved to render this fortification uſeleſs to the enemy, had wrought a mine under it, and lodged there a quantity of gunpowder, and other combuſtible materials. They ſaw with joy, and ſeized inſtantly, the opportunity preſented to them, of executing their purpoſe with ſignal damage to the enemy. A part of the ravelin, with the ground adjoining to it, was blown up; and many of the Spaniards periſhed. The reſt of the army ſtood aghaſt at this unforeſeen diſaſter. The citizens left them no leiſure to recover from their aſtoniſhment, but ruſhed out impetuouſly, attacked them with irreſiſtible fury, and compelled them to retire with the loſs of a great number of officers, and upwards of three hundred private men. BOOK XII. 1572.

He meditates the raiſing of the ſiege.

The failure of this attempt, in which Toledo had exerted his utmoſt force and ſkill, gave him great anxiety with regard to the iſſue of the ſiege; and ſome of the principal officers adviſed him to raiſe it without delay. "All the miſeries of a ſiege," they ſaid, "were felt more by the royal army, than by the rebels who were beſieged. Through the difficult communication between the camp and Amſterdam,

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ſterdam, the troops laboured under a perpetual ſcarcity of proviſions; and ſuffered more from the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, than from the ſword of the enemy. They would either never be able to take the place, or it would coſt them infinitely more than it was worth. In the end, the conquerors would find themſelves in as deplorable a condition as the conquered; and no army would remain, ſufficient to ſubdue the other cities which had rebelled."

THIS opinion was warmly oppoſed by other officers, who repreſented, that their ſucceſs in the further proſecution of the war, would depend on the iſſue of the preſent ſiege. "If we raiſe it," ſaid they, "we ſhall confirm all the other cities in their obſtinacy; if we perſevere, we ſhall render eaſier every future enterpriſe. The ſeaſon cannot remain long in its preſent ſeverity. One night may diſſolve the ice, of which our enemies have ſo often availed themſelves. Our loſs of men will be ſpeedily repaired by the levies which are making in the Netherlands, and by the troops which we expect from Spain. We ſhall ſoon be able to cut off the town from all communication with the other revolted cities, and when we have done this, can we doubt that the beſieged will open their gates, and throw themſelves upon our mercy?"

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Alva's letter to his ſon.

BETWEEN theſe oppoſite opinions Toledo would not take upon himſelf to decide, but referred the matter to the Duke, whoſe anſwer, carrying in it the appearance of authority more than of counſel, ſhewed that he was not a little diſſatisfied with his ſon for deliberating on the ſubject. "You muſt proſecute the ſiege," ſaid Alva, in the letter which he wrote to him, "till you bring it to the deſired iſſue; unleſs you would prove yourſelf unworthy of the name you bear, of the blood from which you are ſprung, and of the command with which I have entruſted you. The more difficult this enterpriſe, the greater glory may you derive from it. In a ſiege of ſuch importance as the preſent, you ought not to conſider the number of days which it detains you, but the conſequences with which your ſucceſs or failure will be attended. You muſt now endeavour to effectuate by famine, what you have been unable to accompliſh by the ſword. You muſt blockade the town inſtead of ſtorming it; and you will be enabled to render the blockade complete by the reinforcement which will ſoon be ſent you. But if ſtill you ſhall entertain thoughts of abandoning your enterpriſe, I will either come myſelf to the camp, ſick as I am; or if my increaſing illneſs ſhall prevent me, I will ſend for the Ducheſs of Alva to command

BOOK XII. command the army, rather than ſuffer it to withdraw."

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FREDERIC was ſtung with this reproach, and reſolved to proſecute the ſiege, regardleſs of all the difficulties and dangers which had induced him to deliberate. He proceeded ſlowly, however, on account of his want of a ſufficient number of troops to form the blockade; when, about the middle of February, the froſt went off, and changed entirely the operations of the contending parties.

Battle on the lake.

THE Prince of Orange had not neglected to provide for this event. A great number of veſſels had been prepared, and as ſoon as the ice was melted, and the wind favourable, they left Leyden with a large ſupply of proviſions; and ſailing along the lake, entered into the Sparen, and got ſafe to Haerlem. In this way the beſieged were frequently ſupplied; nor could the Spaniards for ſome time procure a naval force ſufficient to prevent it. At laſt the Count de Boſſut, aſſiſted by the people of Amſterdam, collected a great number of armed veſſels, with which he made his appearance on the lake. And thus the ſcene was almoſt entirely changed, and the operations of the ſiege converted, for ſeveral weeks, into the various rencounters

rencounters which paſſed between the fleets; while the one party laboured to introduce ſupplies into the city, and the other was continually on the watch to intercept them. At firſt the actions were ſlight and unimportant, but at length the number of ſhips on both ſides being greatly augmented, they came to a general engagement; in which, after much bloodſhed, victory declared againſt the Proteſtants. In this action the Count de Boſſut acquired great honour, and reduced the enemy's fleet to ſo low a pitch, that henceforth they could not venture with ſafety to come within his reach. He ſoon after made himſelf maſter of a fort in the mouth of the Sparen, and having ſtationed a part of the fleet there, he rendered all acceſs to the town by water utterly impracticable.

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The vigour and intrepidity of the beſieged.

During theſe tranſactions on the lake, the townſmen and garriſon exerted the ſame activity and vigour as before. They gave the beſiegers no reſpite, but harraſſed them continually, by ſallying out in ſtrong bodies, ſometimes in one quarter and ſometimes in another. In one of theſe ſallies, they drove the German forces from their intrenchments, ſlew upwards of eight hundred of them, ſet on fire their tents and baggage, and carrying off a

BOOK XII. great number of cannon and military enſigns, returned to the town in triumph [m].

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But Toledo was ſoon afterwards in a condition to prevent theſe eruptions, from which the beſieged derived ſo much glory. The reinforcement which his father had been preparing, at length arrived; and his trenches were thereby ſecured againſt any attack that could be made upon them, either from within, or from without.

Their diſtreſs.

The beſieged began to ſuffer greatly from a ſcarcity of proviſions. There was no expedient for relief, however deſperate, which they did not employ. They attempted frequently, in the night, to force the enemy's lines, and to open a paſſage for the convoys, which, agreeably to concert, the Prince of Orange ſent forward, to be ready to enter the town, in caſe the garriſon could diſlodge the beſiegers from their entrenchments. But they found the enemy every where prepared to receive them, and were repulſed in all their attempts. They had then recourſe to another no leſs deſperate expedient. They broke down the dyke of the Sparen, and laid all the ground between the

[m] Thuanus, tom. iii. p. 218.

lake

lake and the city under water. The Spaniards being obliged, in conſequence of this device, to quit the part of their entrenchments to which the water reached, ſome flat-bottomed boats paſſed into the town, with gun-powder and proviſions. But the relief which the beſieged received in this way was inconſiderable. Boſſut being abſolute maſter of the lake, the paſſage by which the Hollanders had entered was ſoon blocked up, and all acceſs to the town rendered as difficult as ever. 1573.

Count Battenburg defeated.

THE people of Haerlem had now no proſpect of deliverance, but from a body of troops which the Prince of Orange had for ſome months been employed in aſſembling, with a view to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege. He had ſolicited aid from the Queen of England, and from the French and German Proteſtants. But the former was averſe at this time to declaring herſelf openly againſt Philip; and both the latter were too much occupied at home, to have either leiſure or power to afford their brethren in Holland any effectual aſſiſtance. In the mean time, the famine in Haerlem had riſen to the moſt dreadful height. Every ſpecies of ordinary food was already conſumed; and the people ſubſiſted on the roots of the coarſeſt herbs, and on the fleſh of horſes, dogs, and other animals againſt which men com-

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monly entertain the moſt irreconcileable averſion. William having got information of the extremity to which they were reduced, reſolved to make an effort in their behalf, with the forces which he had already collected. They conſiſted partly of French, German, and Engliſh Proteſtants, but chiefly of raw troops, which had been levied haſtily for the preſent purpoſe in the neighbouring cities; amounting to four thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe. He intended to have conducted this little army himſelf, but was prevailed on by the States to give the command of it to the Count of Battenburg. Notice was conveyed to the beſieged of the time when this armament would approach Haerlem, by letters tied to pigeons, which had been brought from Haerlem, to Leyden, in order to be employed as meſſengers to the beſieged, in caſe all other communication between the cities ſhould be obſtructed [a].

Battenburg ſet out from Leyden with his troops, ſeveral field-pieces, and a large convoy of proviſions, in the beginning of July. His inſtructions were to direct his attack againſt the quarters of the Germans ſtationed towards the plain of Haerlem. The beſieged, it was expected, would ſally out upon them at

[a] Thuanus, lib. lv. c. v.

the

the ſame time, and while they were thus diſtracted by one enemy before, and another behind them, it was hoped that the convoy of proviſions would find an opportunity of entering the town. But Toledo having received intelligence of their deſign, drew up a part of his forces within their entrenchments, to repreſs the ſally intended by the beſieged, and led out the reſt to meet Count Battenburg. His troops being greatly ſuperior to the enemy both in diſcipline and number, broke their ranks, and threw them into confuſion at the firſt onſet. The General, and upwards of two thouſand men, were killed; and almoſt the whole convoy of proviſions fell into the hands of the victors. 1573.

The beſieged offer to capitulate.

His anſwer.

This diſaſter entirely broke the ſpirits of the beſieged, and made it neceſſary for them to propoſe a ſurrender without delay. They accordingly ſent a deputation to Toledo, with an offer to deliver up the town, on condition that the inhabitants ſhould not be pillaged, and that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march out of it with the honours of war. Toledo refuſed to liſten to theſe, or any other conditions; and informed them, that they muſt leave it to him to determine what treatment both the garriſon and citizens ſhould receive.

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1573. Their reſolution.

THE beſieged were too well acquainted with his implacable ſpirit, not to ſhrink at the thoughts of expoſing themſelves to his mercy. They had not forgotten the diſmal calaſtrophe of Naerden. They conſidered this anſwer as a declaration, that he had devoted them to deſtruction. The people ran in crowds from every quarter of the city, to the places of public reſort, in order to learn the particulars of that fatal anſwer which the deputies had brought. The women, the aged, and all the more unwarlike part of the inhabitants, were overwhelmed with terror. As if their houſes had been already in flames, or as if they had beheld the bloody ſword of the Spaniard waving round them, there was nothing to be ſeen or heard, but tears, and ſhrieks, and groans. Their deſpair was ſoon afterwards converted into a degree of madneſs, by a reſolution formed by the Governor and garriſon, to leave all ſuch as were unable to bear arms behind them, and to force their way, ſword in hand, through the enemy's lines. To prevent them from executing their purpoſe, the women haſtened tumultuouſly (many of them with their children in their arms) to the gate where the garriſon had appointed to rendezvous before their departure. It was a ſcene truly piteous and miſerable; the women either rolling in the duſt, or clinging round the necks

and knees of their huſbands, fathers, ſons, or brothers; diſſolved in tears, and imploring that they might be carried along with them, and ſuffered either to eſcape or periſh together. The men were melted at the ſight of ſo much anguiſh in perſons ſo near and dear to them, and yielded at laſt to their entreaties. It was then agreed that one half of all the military in the town ſhould march in the front, the other half in the rear, and the women, children, and others unable to bear arms, in the middle between them. Drawn up in this form, they reſolved to attempt a paſſage with their ſwords through the enemy's entrenchments. They knew it to be impoſſible but that moſt of them muſt periſh. "But if we open our gates to the Spaniards," ſaid Riperda, "muſt we not likewiſe periſh? And if we muſt die (though ſtill it is poſſible we may eſcape), is it not better to die fighting bravely in the field; we who have exerted ourſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly in defence of our religion and liberty; than, after being ſtript of our arms, and bound like criminals, to receive an ignominious death upon a ſcaffold, or in a dungeon, from the hands of an ungenerous and unrelenting enemy?"

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THEY were upon the point of putting their deſign in execution, when intelligence of it was carried to Toledo. He conſidered, that

Toledo offers more favourable terms.

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if they were not diverted from it, he ſhould in conſequence of his victory, inſtead of a great and important city, acquire poſſeſſion only of a deſolated ruin. He reflected tóo on the danger to which his troops might be expoſed, from the fury of ſo many brave men animated by deſpair and vengeance; and therefore, without delay, he ſent a trumpet to the beſieged, to give them hopes of favour and forgiveneſs. There was a violent ſtruggle in their minds for ſome time between their fears, and the hopes with which he thus inſpired them. But from their knowledge of his character, their diſtruſt and diffidence prevailed; and they refuſed to hearken to his propoſal, till he engaged, that, on condition of their paying two hundred thouſand livres, the army ſhould be reſtrained from plundering the inhabitants, and that all of them, except fifty-ſeven whom he named, ſhould receive a full pardon of their offences.

THIS exception of ſo great a number of citizens, who were the moſt conſiderable perſons in the town, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their bravery in its defence, would have prevented the accommodation from taking place, had not the German part of the garriſon urged in the moſt determined manner, that the conditions offered ſhould be accepted. The Walloons,

Walloons, on the other hand, and the Dutch, were extremely reluctant and averſe; becauſe, as they were more obnoxious than the Germans, they believed that no mercy would be ſhewn them. The garriſon being thus divided in their ſentiments, and many of them having, with a view to make their eſcape, ſecretly withdrawn from their ſtations on the walls, the inhabitants began to dread that the Spaniards, obſerving them grown more remiſs than formerly, might take the town by ſtorm; and therefore, without further delay, they ſent a deputation of their number, to make the ſurrender on the terms propoſed.

The ſurrender.

A REGIMENT of Spaniards was immediately ſent to take poſſeſſion of the place. All perſons, whether inhabitants or foreign ſoldiers, were ordered to lay down their arms. The citizens were commanded to retire into certain churches, and the garriſon to certain monaſteries, where guards were placed over them, to prevent their eſcape. On the ſame day, Toledo entered the town with the Spaniſh troops. In order to induce the foreign ſoldiers, of whom the garriſon chiefly conſiſted, to concur with the inhabitants in the ſurrender, Toledo had given them particular aſſurances of ſafety. And although they were ſtrictly guarded, and not ſuffered to depart, yet bread had been diſtributed

July 13.

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buted to *them* as well as to the citizens; and no violence was offered them till the third day, when the Duke of Alva, who had recovered from his illneſs, came to Haerlem, on pretence of viſiting the fortifications, but in reality to inſtruct his ſon with regard to his treatment of the priſoners.

The perfidious cruelty of Alva and his ſon.

It was then, but too late, that this brave, though now defenceleſs garriſon, repented of having ſo tamely delivered up their arms; and ſaw the folly of truſting in the mercy of an ungenerous enemy, whoſe revenge and hatred were implacable. A maſſacre, which had been concerted in the interview between the father and ſon, was begun, by putting to death three hundred Walloons. At the ſame time, the brave Riperda and other perſons of note were beheaded. But the ſlaughter ſtopt not here. Several hundreds of French, Scotch, and Engliſh ſoldiers, beſides a conſiderable number of the citizens who had been ſeized in attempting to make their eſcape, were likewiſe butchered; and when the executioners were tired with ſlaughtering, they tied the unhappy victims two by two, and plunged them into the river. Even the ſick and wounded were carried out into the court-yard of the hoſpital where they lay, and put to the ſword.

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HISTORIANS differ as to the number of thoſe who were involved in this diſmal cataſtrophe; and it is remarkable that ſome of the Spaniſh writers make it greater than the Dutch. By the loweſt account, nine hundred brave men were executed like the vileſt malefactors, who, truſting to Toledo's promiſe, had given up their arms, and thrown themſelves upon his mercy.

Conſequences of the vigorous defence of Haerlem.

IT would ſhock the reader's humanity to offer any excuſe for ſuch inhuman cruelty; yet it muſt not be denied that Alva had ample matter of chagrin, when he conſidered how much the length of the ſiege, and the obſtinate valour of the beſieged, had coſt him. By the inclemency of the ſeaſon, by the ſcarcity of proviſions, and by the ſword of the enemy, he had loſt four thouſand five hundred men; beſides a great number whom their diſeaſes or wounds rendered unfit for ſervice. Nor was the diminution of his forces the only loſs which he ſuſtained from this ſiege. It was attended with an expence, by which his treaſury was exhauſted. It ſunk conſiderably the reputation of his arms, and inſpired the inſurgents with hopes, that an enemy, who had found it ſo difficult to conquer, might themſelves be overcome. It afforded leiſure to the other revolted cities to ſettle their affairs, and furniſhed them with the

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the happieſt opportunity of carrying on their conqueſts in Zealand, where the city of Middleburg ſtill remained in the hands of the Spaniards[o].

Mutiny of the Spaniſh troops.

Of the ſeveral inconveniences which the Duke of Alva ſuffered from the length of the ſiege, the draining of his treaſury was not the leaſt conſiderable; as it occaſioned his falling behind in the payment of his troops, and rendered abortive all the ſucceeding operations of the campaign. He intended that they ſhould have gone from Haerlem into North Holland, to ſecure the town of Alcmaer. But when orders were given for their march, they refuſed to obey. They had been greatly exaſperated by the conditions granted to the people of Haerlem, becauſe they were thereby diſappointed in their hopes of plunder; and they reſolved to make Toledo feel their reſentment, by inſiſting on the immediate payment of their arrears. He repreſented to them the prejudice which the King's intereſt would ſuffer from their remaining inactive at the preſent criſis. But the more they perceived their importance, the higher was the gratification of their reſentment. Without regard

[o] Bentivoglio, p. 117. Meteren, p. 110. Meurſii Auriacus, lib. viii.

either

either to Toledo's remonſtrances, or to the terms on which Haerlem had been ſurrendered, they fixed their quarters in that city; and the citizens, already exhauſted by their ſufferings, under contribution, and exerciſed over them the ſame tyrannical oppreſſion as if they had taken the town by ſtorm: thus demonſtrating to the inhabitants of the other cities, the abſurdity of ſubmitting to the Spaniards, whatever conditions might be offered; ſince, even when their commanders were willing to obſerve theſe conditions, they were violated by the ſoldiers, whoſe rapacity the general was unable to reſtrain. BOOK XII. 1573.

THIS incident affected the Duke of Alva with the moſt ſenſible concern. He was aware of the pernicious effects that muſt ariſe from it. He had ever valued himſelf, and not without reaſon, on the exact diſcipline which he had hitherto maintained. Inclined, but at the ſame time afraid, to employ rigour and ſeverity, leſt ſtill more pernicious conſequences might follow, he reſolved to make trial of perſuaſion; and with this view he employed the interceſſion of the Marquis of Vitelli, who was the moſt beloved as well as the moſt reſpected of all his officers. Vitelli exerted his utmoſt art and influence; and at laſt, with infinite difficulty, he perſuaded the mutineers to accept a part of their arrears, and

BOOK XII. and to submit to the authority of their commanders [p].

1573. The ſiege of Alcmaer.

MUCH time having been employed in this negotiation, the ſeaſon was far advanced before the army could be led to Alcmaer. This place (if they had attacked it ſooner) muſt unavoidably have fallen into their hands. It had been the laſt of all the cities in North Holland in ſhaking off its allegiance to Philip. The Catholic inhabitants were numerous, and had been able to keep poſſeſſion of one of the principal gates of the town. They had earneſtly ſolicited Toledo to haſten to their aſſiſtance. But the mutiny of his troops having prevented him from complying with their requeſt till it was too late, the Prince of Orange had improved the leiſure which this incident afforded him; and having ſent forces to the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant inhabitants, he had wreſted the gate out of the hands of the Catholics; furniſhed the Proteſtants with arms, and procured for them, from the neighbouring cities, ſupplies of proviſions and military ſtores.

TOLEDO was aware of the diſadvantages which muſt attend his entering on the ſiege of a place, ſituated like Alcmaer, in a marſhy

[p] Bentivoglio, p. 131.

ſoil,

ſoil, ſo late in the year. But he hoped that, with ſo great an army as he now poſſeſſed [q], he would be able to reduce it before the rainy ſeaſon ſhould begin; and he knew that the reduction of Alcmaer would greatly facilitate his conqueſt of the other towns in the province. He left Haerlem, therefore, as ſoon as Vitelli had quelled the mutiny of the troops, and marched directly towards Alcmaer [r].

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HAVING planted a battery on each ſide of the town, he began a briſk cannonading, and in a few days made ſuch conſiderable breaches, that he doubted not of being able to carry the town by ſtorm. In order to divide the garriſon, he reſolved to make an aſſault on both ſides at once. The inhabitants perceived his deſign, and prepared for their defence. The Spaniards having paſſed the ditch, by means of two portable bridges, advanced to the attack with loud ſhouts, and full of confidence that there was no force in the place ſufficient to oppoſe them. But they ſoon found that courage, when grounded on deſpair, can in ſome caſes ſupply the want both of diſcipline and numbers. The garriſon, ſeconded by the

The Spaniards bravely repulſed.

[q] It amounted to ſixteen thouſand men.

[r] It lies at the diſtance of only one day's journey from Haerlem.

townſ-

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townſmen, made ſo intrepid a reſiſtance, as filled the Spaniards with aſtoniſhment. They renewed the attack ſeveral times; but were at laſt obliged to retire with the loſs of ſix hundred killed, and three hundred wounded. Toledo could not, either by promiſes or threats, perſuade them to return to the aſſault. Soon afterwards the rains began to fall, and the Spaniards ſuffered greatly from the humidity of the air and ſoil. The Duke of Alva too had received intelligence, that the Hollanders had formed the deſign of opening their ſluices, in order to lay the country round Alcmaer under water. To ſave his army, therefore, from deſtruction, he ſent orders to his ſon to raiſe the ſiege; which Frederick did accordingly on the eleventh of October. He then marched to the ſouthern parts of the province, and put his troops, greatly fatigued and exhauſted, into winter-quarters [s].

The ſiege raiſed.

ALVA was not more fortunate at this time by ſea, than he had been by land at Alcmaer. In revenge for the aſſiſtance which the people of Amſterdam had lent the Spaniards in the ſiege of Haerlem, the inhabitants of Enchuyſen, Horn, and other Proteſtant cities, had fitted out againſt them a numerous fleet, which they

Sea-fight near Amſterdam.

[s] Meteren, p. 123. Thuanus, lib. lv. ſect. 8.

ſtationed

ſtationed in the mouth of the river Ye. With this fleet they took or deſtroyed every veſſel that attempted to paſs from Amſterdam into the Zwider ſea, and thus put an entire ſtop to the trade of that commercial city. To remedy this evil, which muſt ſoon have proved fatal to a people who ſubſiſted wholly by trade, the Duke of Alva had come himſelf to Amſterdam, where he had equipped with the utmoſt expedition a fleet, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of war, of a much larger ſize than uſual, of which he gave the command to the Count de Boſſut. This fleet was much inferior in number to that of the enemy; but this diſadvantage, Alva hoped, would be compenſated by the number of ſoldiers on board, added to the ſuperior ſize of the ſhips, and the ſkill and bravery of the commander. BOOK XII. 1573.

The Proteſtants victorious.

As ſoon as Boſſut approached the mouth of the river, the Hollanders left their ſtation, and retired towards Horn and Enchuyſen. Here they received a conſiderable reinforcement; and ſoon afterwards returned, under the command of Theodore Sonoy, to watch an opportunity to encounter the enemy on advantageous terms. The two fleets for ſome time lay in ſight of each other, and frequent ſkirmiſhes paſſed between them. Boſſut heſitated long, whether he ſhould venture to engage with a

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force ſo much ſuperior; and for this reaſon he kept his fleet in the open ſea, and in the deepeſt water, where he could avail himſelf of the ſize of his ſhips. But the people of Amſterdam, impatient under the interruption of their trade, having tranſmitted a falſe repreſentation to the Duke of Alva of the ſtrength of the Dutch fleet, perſuaded him to ſend poſitive orders for a general engagement. Boſſut, though extremely diffident of ſucceſs, immediately ſteered towards the enemy, who lay in ſhallow water, prepared for his attack. The combat was begun with great ſpirit and intrepidity, but victory ſoon appeared on the ſide of the Hollanders; who having a much greater number of ſhips than the enemy, attacked them on every ſide; and being much nimbler in all their motions, did them a great deal of miſchief, while their own loſs was inconſiderable. Of Boſſut's fleet, one ſhip, with all the crew, was ſunk; three were ſtranded, and afterwards taken by the Hollanders; and all the reſt, except the Admiral's galley, ſaved themſelves by flight. Of this veſſel, the cotemporary hiſtorians ſpeak in the ſtrongeſt terms; and repreſent her as one of the largeſt, and the beſt equipped, that had been ever ſeen. She was ſurrounded by a number of the enemy's ſmaller veſſels, which battered her furiouſly on every ſide, and at length drove her

her upon a bank. Boſſut, ſtill unwilling to ſuffer her to fall into their hands, continued to make the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance[s], till, of three hundred ſoldiers on board, two hundred and twenty were killed, and all the reſt wounded but fifteen. In this ſituation, one of the Spaniards, who remembered the ſcenes of treachery and bloodſhed in which he had been concerned in Naerden and Haerlem, adviſed the Admiral to receive the enemy into the ſhip, and then to blow her in the air. But Boſſut, conſcious of having done every thing that either his duty or his honour could require, refuſed to liſten to ſo deſperate a propoſal, and choſe rather to confide in an offer which was made him by the Hollanders, that if he would ſurrender without any further reſiſtance, they would ſpare the lives of all that were on board. On this condition the ſhip was accordingly given up; and Boſſut, with ſuch of the crew and ſoldiers as ſurvived, was conducted to priſon in the town of Horn[t].

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Boſſut is taken priſoner.

Sonoy ſent immediate notice of this victory to the States of Holland; who being ſenſible how much their ſafety depended on maintain-

[s] This engagement laſted for twenty-eight hours.

[t] The Admiral's ſhip, called the Inquiſition, carried only two and thirty guns.—Thuanus, lib. lv. ſect. vii. Meteren, p. 125. Bentivoglio, p. 133.

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ing their ſuperiority at ſea, had been extremely anxious with regard to the iſſue of the conteſt; and they now appointed a ſolemn thankſgiving to be obſerved in all the churches of the province.

The States acquire San Gertrudenberg.

THEIR joy on this occaſion was not a little increaſed by the acquiſition of San Gertrudenberg; which gave them the command of the Maeſe, and a free entrance into the province of Brabant. It was taken by a detachment of their troops, under the command of the Sieur de Payette, a French Proteſtant, who entered it in the night by ſcalade, and put the garriſon, conſiſting of a cohort of Walloons under a Spaniſh Governor, to the ſword.

St. Aldegonde taken priſoner.

THIS loſs was in ſome meaſure compenſated to the Duke of Alva, by an advantage which a detachment of his army gained over the Sieur de St. Aldegonde, who had marched with a body of troops to check the excurſions of the Spaniards in the ſouthern parts of Holland. St. Aldegonde's forces were cut to pieces or diſperſed, and he himſelf was taken priſoner. Alva would not have ſpared the life of a man, who, by his activity in rouſing the ſpirit of liberty among his countrymen, had rendered himſelf ſo exceedingly obnoxious, had he not been reſtrained by his regard for the preſervation of the Count de Boſſut; upon whom

whom the Prince of Orange had declared he would retaliate, for whatever ſeverity ſhould be uſed againſt St. Aldegonde[u]. BOOK XII. 1573.

Alva leaves the Netherlands.

Alva intended to have begun the next campaign with the ſiege of Leyden; and with this view he ſeized upon a number of ſtations in the neighbourhood of that city. But this ſiege, no leſs memorable than that of Haerlem, was reſerved for his ſucceſſor. Alva had, as mentioned above, applied to Philip for liberty to leave the Low Countries, on account of the bad ſtate of his health, occaſioned by the moiſture of the climate, and the fatigues which he had undergone. This was believed by many to be only a pretence; while his requeſt proceeded in reality from apprehenſions, that the King had liſtened to the repreſentations of his enemies, and would ſoon confer his office upon another. There is very little reaſon, however, to ſuppoſe that Philip was in the ſmalleſt degree diſſatisfied with his conduct, ſince he appears, in all his tyranny and violence, to have acted with ſtrict conformity to his inſtructions. But Philip having at laſt become diffident of the ſucceſs of thoſe cruel meaſures which he had hitherto preſcribed,

[u] Meurſii Albanus, p. 270. Meteren, p. 125.

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had reſolved, not from choice, but from neceſſity, to make trial of ſome more gentle expedients. He knew how unfit the Duke of Alva was to be employed in the execution of this new plan of government; and he believed that no conceſſions would prove acceptable to the revolted provinces, that could be made by one who had rendered himſelf ſo much the object of their abhorrence. He had therefore readily conſented that Alva ſhould retire, and had, more than a year before the preſent period, appointed the Duke de Medina Cœli Governor of the Netherlands, in his room. This nobleman having found, upon his arrival, that the provinces were in a very different ſtate from what he had expected, and that the charge which he had undertaken would probably be attended with much greater difficulty than glory, declined entering upon it, and afterwards obtained leave from Philip to return to Spain. He remained however in the Low Countries, till towards the end of the preſent year, when the new Governor Don Lewis de Zuniga, and Requeſens, arrived.

The new Governor.

And ſoon afterwards the Duke of Alva, who had come to Bruſſels to receive Requeſens, having reſigned the Regency into his hands, ſet out with his ſon, by the way of Germany and Italy, for Spain.

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ON this occaſion men were affected variouſly. Even all the Proteſtants did not entertain the ſame ſentiments with regard to the effects which the Duke's departure was likely to produce. While ſome rejoiced at it from the dread which they entertained of his abilities; others conſidered, that for ſeveral months paſt his good fortune had forſaken him; and they believed that the abhorrence which his tyranny had excited towards his perſon and government, would, by proving a powerful bond of union among his enemies, effectually prevent them from liſtening to any inſidious terms of accommodation which the Spaniards might propoſe. 1573.

Alva's boaſt.

HE was regarded, both by the Catholics and Proteſtants, as the chief ſource of all the calamities in which the Netherlands had been involved. He had received his government from the Ducheſs of Parma, in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity. By his tyranny he had thrown it into the moſt terrible combuſtion, and kindled the flames of a deſtructive war, which he was conſcious of being unable to extinguiſh, and had therefore applied for liberty to retire. He is ſaid to have boaſted to Count Koningſtein[n], at whoſe houſe he lodged in his

[n] Uncle to the Prince of Orange.

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way to Italy, that during his government of five years and a half, upwards of eighteen thouſand heretics had ſuffered by the hand of the public executioner; beſides a much greater number whom he had put to the ſword, in the towns which he took, and in the field of battle.

His government.

The ſituation of the Low Countries during Alva's adminiſtration, was truly deplorable. His oppreſſion was not confined to the Proteſtants; but great numbers too of the Catholics were put to death, and their effects forfeited, on the pretence of their having given entertainment to heretics, or of having held a correſpondence with them in their exile. Wives were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity for affording ſhelter to their huſbands, whom the Council of Tumults had condemned; children for performing the like kind offices to their parents; and in Utrecht, a father was executed for allowing his ſon, who had returned from baniſhment, to lodge under his roof for one night. By forcing ſo many thouſands of the moſt induſtrious inhabitants to leave the country, and by neglecting to provide a naval force to oppoſe the exiles at ſea, commerce was almoſt entirely ruined; notwithſtanding which, he impoſed upon the people more oppreſſive taxes than they could have

have borne, if they had been in the moſt flouriſhing condition. In levying his taxes, the utmoſt rigour was employed. The people were often wantonly provoked, and tumults purpoſely excited, from which occaſion was taken to puniſh them with confiſcation of their goods, and ſometimes both with death and confiſcation. From the confiſcations and taxes large ſums were raiſed; yet, by maintaining ſo numerous an army, and by building citadels to keep the principal towns in awe, as he received little aſſiſtance from the King, who was engaged in other expenſive enterpriſes, he fell behind in the payment of his troops; and in order to keep them in good humour, he permitted them to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants; againſt whom they exerciſed, on many occaſions, the moſt cruel and oppreſſive rapacity.

1573.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XIII.

PART I.

BOOK XIII.

PHILIP could not have made choice of a more proper ſucceſſor to the Duke of Alva than *Requeſens*, who had acquired ſome military fame in the battle of Lepanto, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the government of Milan, by his prudence and moderation; qualities from which Philip now hoped for greater ſucceſs in quelling the rebellious ſpirit of his ſubjects in the Netherlands, than had attended the violent adminiſtration of the Duke of Alva.

1573. Character of Requeſens.

To ſhew as early as poſſible that a change of meaſures had been adopted by the court of Spain,

1574. He applies himſelf to raiſe the ſiege of Middleburg.

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Spain, Requeſens began his government with demoliſhing Alva's ſtatute above mentioned, and with repreſſing the inſolence of certain garriſons, at whoſe enormities his predeceſſor had connived[a]. He then applied with great induſtry to make the neceſſary preparations for the relief of Middleburg; which, having been cloſely beſieged by the Zealanders for more than a year and a half, was now reduced to the laſt extremity. Several vigorous attempts had been made, during the Duke of Alva's adminiſtration, to raiſe the ſiege; but through the ſuperiority of the Dutch fleet, they had proved abortive; and Mondragon the Governor had given notice, that if he was not relieved in a few days, he would find it neceſſary to ſurrender.

REQUESENS knew that nothing but the moſt preſſing neceſſity would have drawn this declaration from an officer of ſo great ſpirit and fortitude as Mondragon. And he was ſenſible, that, upon the preſervation of Middleburg, depended *that* of all the other towns in Zealand which retained their allegiance. He therefore poſtponed every other object of his attention; and having gone to Antwerp, he equipped there, and at Bergen-op-zoom, with

[a] Strada, ab init. anno one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-four.

the

the utmoſt expedition, a fleet conſiſting of more than thirty ſhips, beſides tranſports, with proviſions and military ſtores[b]. BOOK XIII. 1574.

THIS fleet he divided into two ſquadrons, one of which, commanded by the Vice-admiral, the Sieur de Glimes and Julio Romero, he ordered to ſail from Bergen, down the Eaſter Scheld; and the other, under Sancio d'Avila, to fall down the Hondt or Weſter Scheld, from Antwerp. By this meaſure, he intended to diſtract the enemy's attention, and to oblige them to divide their forces; and he hoped that at leaſt one of the two ſquadrons might effectuate its entrance into the canal of Middleburg.

BUT the Prince of Orange, whoſe adherents were numerous in every corner of the maritime provinces, had received early information of the Governor's deſign, and had likewiſe got intelligence of his plan of operations. Having paſſed over from Holland to the Iſle of Walcheren, and taken up his reſidence in Fluſhing, in order to aſſiſt the Zealanders with his counſel, William ſtationed a part of his fleet on the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, to lie in wait for D'Avila; and ſent all the reſt,

[b] Meteren, p. 131.

ſtrongly

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ſtrongly manned, and well equipped for fighting, up the Eaſter Scheld, with orders, as ſoon as poſſible to attack the fleet under the command of De Glimes and Romero.

Battle of Sacherlo.

THIS fleet, with the greateſt part of the tranſports, had already ſet ſail from Bergen; and Requeſens, extremely anxious for its fate, had accompanied it as far as Sacherlo. There it caſt anchor, and was waiting for the riſing tide, when the Zealanders, commanded by Boiſot Admiral of Holland, arrived in ſight. De Glimes ſoon perceived the ſuperiority of Boiſot's fleet, both in the ſize and number of the ſhips, and was of opinion that he ought not to proceed in the intended enterpriſe; but he was over-ruled by Romero, who, prompted by his innate courage, and by that contempt, which, like the reſt of his countrymen, he entertained for the Dutch inſurgents, inſiſted that they ſhould try the fortune of a battle. They accordingly weighed anchor, and advanced to the enemy. In the beginning of the engagement, De Glime's own ſhip ran foul of a ſand-bank, from which ſhe could not be diſengaged. The Zealanders perceiving her diſtreſs, attacked her on every ſide, and at length ſet her on fire. Romero haſtened to her aſſiſtance; but all his attempts to extinguiſh the flames proved ineffectual. In a few

minutes ſhe ſunk; after having communicated the flames to Romero's ſhip, that had come to her relief. Romero was obliged to jump over-board, and ſave his life by ſwimming[c]. The Zealanders had the ſame fortunate ſucceſs againſt all the other ſhips of the enemy; they ſunk ſome, burnt others, and took the reſt. Beſides De Glimes, and ſeveral other officers, near a thouſand Walloons and Spaniards periſhed. The victory was deciſive. And Requeſens had the mortification, from the Dyke of Sacherlo, to be an eye-witneſs of this diſaſter, which was great in itſelf; but was rendered ſtill greater, and more afflicting to him, by the fatal conſequences with which he foreſaw it muſt be attended.

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D'Avila in the mean time, with the ſquadron under his command, had ſailed from Antwerp, and advanced as far as Fluſhing. Had he proceeded in his voyage without delay, he muſt have reached Middleburg, in ſpite of the Dutch fleet which had been ſtationed to oppoſe him; for it is not probable that he would have met with great reſiſtance from that fleet, as the flower of all the forces belonging to it had been ſent with Boiſot. The Prince of Orange, who knew this, was extremely ap-

[c] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 122.

prehenſive

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prehenſive of the iſſue, and anxiouſly longed for Boiſot's return: but he was ſoon delivered from his anxiety, by obſerving from a promontory near Fluſhing, that, inſtead of haſtening forward, D'Avila had caſt anchor, and ſeemed reſolved to wait for the arrival of De Glimes and Romero. In a few hours D'Avila received intelligence of their defeat; after which, deſpairing of being able to relieve the beſieged, he immediately ſet ſail for Antwerp. He was purſued by the enemy; but having betaken himſelf to flight in time, he arrived with very little loſs at his deſtined port.

The ſurrender of Middleburg.

THE Prince of Orange conveyed intelligence to Mondragon of what had paſſed, by a Spaniſh officer whom he had taken priſoner; and at the ſame time threatened, that if he did not ſurrender the town in a few days, the garriſon ſhould be put to the ſword without mercy. Great numbers of the beſieged had already died of hunger, or of the unwholeſome food to which they had been obliged to have recourſe. Proviſions of almoſt every kind, not excepting the fleſh of dogs and horſes, were conſumed; nor had they any other food, but bread made of flax ſeed; and even this was nearly exhauſted. Mondragon, perceiving that the deſtruction of the garriſon, as well as of the inhabitants, muſt be the certain conſequence of his refuſing

refuſing to capitulate, conſented to give up both the city of Middleburg and Armuyden, on condition that the garriſons ſhould be allowed to depart with their arms and baggage, and that the eccleſiaſtics, and all ſuch of the Catholic inhabitants as inclined to withdraw, ſhould have liberty to diſpoſe of their effects, and be tranſported to the continent. William highly reſpected Mondragon on account of his gallant conduct during the ſiege, and agreed to theſe conditions; but required that he ſhould pledge his honour that he would procure the releaſe of St. Aldegonde, and two or three more of the Proteſtant leaders, to return into captivity. In the ſequel, Mondragon ſhewed himſelf worthy of the confidence which was repoſed in him. By his interceſſion with Requeſens, St. Aldegonde and the other priſoners were ſet at liberty [d].

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Apprehenſions of the Prince of Orange.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſignal triumph gained over Requeſens in his firſt enterpriſe, the Prince of Orange was not without apprehenſions, that the difference between his character and that of his predeceſſor, added to the difference of meaſures which he ſeemed determined to purſue, might produce ſome alteration in the ſentiments of the people. The high military talents, the vigour and activity of

[d] Meteren, p. 120. Bentivoglio,

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Alva, had been objects of dread and terror. They had overawed moſt of the provinces, and rendered the efforts of others ineffectual; but as the oppreſſive violence of that tyrant had at firſt given birth to the revolt, ſo it had contributed more than any other cauſe to cheriſh and ſupport it. Under a milder and more artful governor, William dreaded not only that the inhabitants of the interior provinces would acquieſce in the eſtabliſhed government, but that even the people of Holland and Zealand would be enticed again to yield their necks to the Spaniſh yoke. And to prevent this, he employed every conſideration that could work either on their hopes or fears.

He puts the people on their guard.

THE King had ſo far complied with their wiſhes, as to remove the Duke of Alva; but how little reaſon they had to flatter themſelves, that any greater regard would be now paid to their rights than formerly, was manifeſt from his choice of the new governor, who had procured his maſter's favour, by the exerciſe of cruelty over the Moors in Granada; and who, being a ſtranger and a Spaniard as well as Alva, could not be greatly intereſted in the proſperity of the provinces, nor have any other end in view, but to promote the tyrannical deſigns of the court of Spain. Requeſens indeed had a more benign and placid countenance than Alva; but the danger to which the provinces were

were expoſed, was for this reaſon the more to be dreaded by every friend of his country. Amidſt the Governor's profeſſions of concern for their proſperity, no mention had been made of freeing them from that enormous load of taxes under which they groaned; or of delivering their conſciences from that reſtraint and violence, which the former Governor had impoſed upon them; or of reſtoring the laws which Alva had ſo wantonly trampled under foot; or in ſhort, of diſmiſſing thoſe foreign troops, from whoſe rapacity they had ſuffered ſuch intolerable outrage. In order to accompliſh theſe important purpoſes, the provinces of Holland and Zealand had taken up arms; and although the fortune of the war had been various, yet in ſpite of the moſt vigorous efforts of the Duke of Alva, with a numerous army, to reduce them, theſe provinces were governed by their own inhabitants, and enjoyed the free and full poſſeſſion of their religious and civil rights. The other provinces ought now to imitate the example of their countrymen, and they might reaſonably hope that their endeavours would be attended with ſucceſs; the King having appointed a governor over them, inexperienced in the art of war, and unacquainted with the army under his command, which was at preſent ſtrongly infected with a ſpirit of ſedition and diſcontent. It might perhaps appear raſh and daring for the inhabitants

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of ſo narrow a territory as the Netherlands, to enter the liſts with ſo potent an enemy as the King of Spain; but the power of that monarch was not in reality ſo formidable as it ſeemed. The great extent of his dominions ſerved rather to embarraſs and encumber him, than to add to his ſtrength; and conſidering the diſtance of his place of reſidence, and the difficulty of tranſporting troops either from Spain or Italy, there was little reaſon to apprehend that he would ever be able to ſubdue the people of the Netherlands; if they acted with that unanimity and ſpirit which became them, in a cauſe, wherein, not only their property, and their exiſtence as a commercial ſtate, but their religion and civil liberty, were at ſtake.

The laſt attempt of Count Lewis of Naſſau.

By theſe and ſuch other arguments, did the Prince of Orange animate the people to cooperate with him, in aſſerting their liberty, in oppoſition to the plan formed by the court of Spain to enſlave them.

Meanwhile, his brother Count Lewis, who had reſided in Germany ever ſince the ſurrender of Mons, was employed in attempting to perſuade the Proteſtant princes there, to aſſiſt him in his preparations for a new invaſion of the interior provinces; to which, notwithſtanding the failure of his former enterpriſes, Lewis

was

was prompted, partly by his knowledge of the mutinous ſpirit of the Spaniſh troops, but chiefly by the proſpect of that aſſiſtance which it was now in his brother's power to afford him. It was concerted between the two brothers, that as ſoon as Count Lewis had finiſhed his levies, the Prince ſhould advance with a body of troops towards the interior provinces, either to make a diverſion in his brother's favour, or to unite their forces.

LEWIS found it extremely difficult to procure money to defray the expence of his intended expedition. His brother's fortune, as well as his own, were almoſt ruined by their former military enterpriſes. The States of Holland were involved in greater expence than they were able to ſupport. They had, in conjunction with the Prince of Orange, made application to the Queen of England; but this Princeſs being unwilling to embroil herſelf with Philip, had refuſed to aſſiſt them. Lewis had begun his preparations, in hopes of receiving ſupplies from ſome German princes, who had promiſed their aſſiſtance, but who were either not inclined, or unable to fulfil their engagements. To ſave himſelf from the affront of abandoning an undertaking, in which a great number of French and German Proteſtants had engaged at his requeſt, he opened a negociation with Schomberg,

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ambaſſador of Charles the Ninth of France, who at this time courted the favour of the Proteſtant princes in Germany, with a view to facilitate the election of his brother the Duke of Anjou, to the crown of Poland. Between Lewis and Schomberg, who met at Francfort on the Maine, it was agreed, That if Charles ſhould, in behalf of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, declare war againſt the King of Spain, the provinces of Holland and Zealand ſhould be immediately delivered into the hands of the French monarch; on his engaging to maintain all their rights, and in particular, the free exerciſe of the reformed religion. But if Charles ſhould not make open war, it was agreed, that Count Lewis ſhould have three hundred thouſand livres to aſſiſt him in his preſent enterpriſe; that the French King ſhould have the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand, and that ſome of the German princes ſhould be ſurety for the performance of this condition. A part of the money was paid, and Lewis was thereby enabled to complete his levies, which amounted to between three and four thouſand horſe, and ſeven thouſand foot[e].

He began his march, accompanied by his

[e] Thuanus, lib. iv. Meteren, p. 133.—Charles died ſoon after, and the treaty had no other conſequences.

brother Henry, and Chriſtopher ſon of the Elector Palatine, in the beginning of February; and deſpiſing the rigour of the ſeaſon, he advanced with great rapidity towards the Netherlands, in hopes of finding the Governor unprepared. Having croſſed the Rhine and the Moſelle, he directed his courſe towards Guelderland, with an intention to paſs the Maeſe at Maeſtricht, and to purſue his march through Brabant, till he ſhould unite his forces with thoſe which his brother had engaged to bring to his aſſiſtance.

The Governor's perplexity.

WITH ſo great diſpatch and ſecrecy had Lewis conducted his preparations, that Requeſens remained ignorant of his deſign, till he was informed that he had begun his march. By this intelligence the Governor was thrown into great perplexity. His troops had been lately ſo much reduced, that it was impoſſible for him to oppoſe both the brothers at the ſame time; and he conſidered that to unite his forces, and employ them againſt Lewis, would expoſe the maritime provinces an eaſy prey to the Prince of Orange. His anxiety was increaſed by the diſcovery of an intrigue, which had been formed by William's adherents, for the ſurpriſe of Antwerp. Nor was he entirely free from apprehenſions that his troops might refuſe to quit the towns in which they were ſtationed, till they ſhould receive payment of

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their arrears. Having convened a council of his principal officers, and heard their opinions of the meaſures which they thought moſt proper to be purſued, he reſolved to remain, together with the Marquis of Vitelli, in Antwerp, to watch the ſecret machinations of the Prince of Orange; and ſuch troops as could be ſooneſt drawn together, were immediately ſent off under Sancio D'Avila, to oppoſe the paſſage of Count Lewis over the Maeſe. The reſt followed ſoon after; having been perſuaded to leave their quarters, by a promiſe that their arrears ſhould be paid, as ſoon as the provinces were delivered from the impending danger.

Lewis in the mean time advancing towards the frontier, had arrived within a few miles of Maeſtricht, where he pitched his camp; in expectation that his friends in the place would be able to make themſelves maſters of one of the gates. But Requeſens having diſcovered his intention, had diſpatched ſeveral companies of light armed troops before the main army, to ſecure the town. Theſe troops arrived in time to prevent the friends of Lewis from executing their deſign; and in a few days afterwards they were joined by D'Avila with the reſt of the forces.

Lewis was not prepared for undertaking the ſiege

ſiege of a place ſo completely fortified as Maeſtricht; and after ſome trials of ſtrength in two or three ſkirmiſhes with the Spaniards, he decamped, and marched down the eaſt ſide of the river, till he came to Ruremonde; but there too, as well as in Maeſtricht, the Proteſtants were intimidated and overawed, and not a ſingle perſon ventured to declare in his favour. He continued his march in the ſame direction, reſolving to haſten forward till he ſhould join his brother, who was advancing to meet him in the country which lies between the Maeſe and the Waal. 1574.

D'Avila aimed at nothing for ſome time but to prevent Lewis from tranſporting his army over the river, and with this view he had marched as near him as poſſible, having the river between them; but receiving a reinforcement of two thouſand veteran troops, and finding, by the information of his ſpies, that Lewis had laid aſide his firſt deſign of croſſing the Maeſe, and was on full march towards the Prince of Orange, he conſidered that it was of the higheſt importance to prevent their junction; and that for this purpoſe it was neceſſary to compel Lewis as ſoon as poſſible to engage. With this intention he proceeded with the utmoſt celerity down the river, and having croſſed it by a bridge of boats at the town

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town of Grave, he thus got between Count Lewis and his brother's army. Lewis, anxious to prevent this, had avoided every unneceſſary delay, but his troops, chagrined at being refuſed admittance firſt into Maeſtricht, and afterwards into Ruremonde, had proceeded in their march with much leſs alacrity than the Spaniards. He received the firſt intelligence of D'Avila's having croſſed the Maeſe when he arrived at Mooch, a village at the diſtance of only one league from the Spaniſh army, and on the ſame ſide of the river. He ſoon perceived the neceſſity to which he was reduced, either to give the enemy battle, or to retire. To retire, he ſaw, muſt be extremely difficult and dangerous, on account of the diſorder and conſternation which commonly attend a retreat; and therefore he did not heſitate to try the fortune of a battle, although he knew how much inferior his undiſciplined forces were to the Spaniards, who were ſelect veteran troops, animated by the conſciouſneſs of ſuperior proweſs, and commanded by D'Avila, a perſon of extraordinary abilities, who, by merit alone, had raiſed himſelf from the ſtation of a common ſoldier, to the rank of general.

Battle of Mooch.

To enable him to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy, Lewis reſolved to remain in his preſent ſituation at Mooch, and to cover his infantry

infantry with a ſtrong intrenchment. His cavalry, though reduced by deſertion, was ſtill ſuperior to that of the enemy; but from this ſuperiority, the nature of the ground, which riſes into hills at a little diſtance from the river, did not ſuffer him to derive any conſiderable advantage. He drew them up as well as the unequal face of the country would permit, on the right of his camp; and upon a hill behind his main army, he placed a ſquadron of choſen troops, with which he intended either to fix the victory, if it ſhould appear doubtful; or, in caſe of a defeat, to open a paſſage through the enemy to his brother, who had now advanced as far as Nimeguen to meet him. He had juſt time to put his troops in order of battle, when D'Avila arrived, having his infantry on the right, and on the left his cavalry, flanked by a body of muſqueteers, deſigned to ſupport them againſt the ſuperior numbers of the German cavalry.

D'Avila began the engagement by ſending three hundred men to attack the enemy's lines. The troops which had been appointed to defend them, advanced briſkly towards the Spaniards, and gave them a gallant and reſolute reception; but they were ſoon compelled to retire. The Spaniards followed, and attempted to enter the camp along with them. The action there was bloody and obſtinate, and freſh

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freſh ſuccours haſtened from both armies to the aſſiſtance of the combatants. But the cotemporary hiſtorians differ ſo widely from each other in their accounts of this engagement, that it is impoſſible to know the truth. Some authors affirm, that the Germans acquitted themſelves with honour, and made a bold and vigorous réſiſtance. Others ſay, that only the French troops in Count Lewis's army performed their duty, while the Germans refuſed to advance unleſs their arrears were paid, and remained obſtinately in their camp till the Spaniards broke into it, and after making prodigious havock among them, put them to an ignominious flight. In the beginning of the action, the German cavalry proved an overmatch for their antagoniſts, and having fallen with great fury on that part of the enemy's horſe that was neareſt them, they drove them to a diſtance from the field of battle; but when they were forming themſelves again for a new attack, ſome freſh ſquadrons of the Spaniſh cavalry advanced, and threw them into diſorder. The Spaniſh muſqueteers, who had been placed to ſupport the horſe, were then of ſignal uſe. With their ſhot they galled the Germans in flank, and greatly augmented their confuſion. Count Lewis and the Palatine attempted, but in vain, to rally them. Theſe Princes did every thing to reſtore the battle that could have been done by the moſt expert com-

Lewis defeated and ſlain.

manders, while they endeavoured to animate their troops by their example, and gave conſpicuous proofs of the moſt heroic valour. Their efforts might have been crowned with ſucceſs, if a body of Spaniſh lances had not arrived when the German reiters had begun to give way. The reiters were overpowered; above five hundred of them were killed, and of the infantry between three and four thouſand. The victory was deciſive, and the value of it to the conquerors was greatly enhanced by the deaths of Count Lewis, his brother Henry, and the Palatine; all of whom the cotemporary hiſtorians deſcribe as having exerted the higheſt degree of vigour and intrepidity, although none of theſe writers were able to procure information of the manner in which they fell. Their death was matter of great lamentation to the Proteſtant confederates, and eſpecially the death of Lewis, who had made ſo many great exertions in their behalf.

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As ſoon as the Prince of Orange received the melancholy news of this diſaſter, he began to return towards Holland, being convinced that now, when he was deprived of his brother's aid, it would be in vain for him to attempt to keep the field[s].

Mutiny of the Spaniſh troops.

[s] Bentivoglio, p. 143. Thuanus, lib. lix. ſect. xv. Van Meteren, p. 132.

WILLIAM

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WILLIAM expected that they would have immediately followed him, in order to improve their victory, whilſt the terror which it inſpired was recent; and they would probably have done ſo, had not the Spaniſh troops ſullied the glory which they had acquired, by rebelling againſt their officers on the next day after the battle. D'Avila could not inſtantly fulfil his engagement to pay their arrears. Almoſt three years pay was due to them. Even before the preſent expedition, their patience had been worn out, and it appears to have been the hopes of plunder, or the dread of conſequences fatal to themſelves, that induced them to march againſt the Germans, more than their confidence in the promiſe which D'Avila had made them. Being now freed from their apprehenſions of perſonal danger, and diſappointed in their expectations of being enriched by the ſpoils of the enemy, who were ſtill poorer than themſelves, they demanded from their General the immediate performance of his promiſe; and when they only received new aſſurances of the ſame kind as thoſe with which they had been amuſed before, they threatened to take vengeance on him for his falſehood and deceit. He and the other officers endeavoured to appeaſe them, but in vain. In order to avoid their fury, he was obliged

obliged to make his eſcape ſecretly from the camp; and immediately after his departure, they ran to arms, expelled their officers, and having from among themſelves elected other officers and a commander in chief, they quickly left Mooch, and directed their march to Antwerp, with an intention to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants of that wealthy city, till they ſhould extort payment of their arrears.

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They take poſſeſſion of Antwerp.

Requesens having received intelligence of their deſign, had remained at Antwerp; and, if he had complied with the counſel of Champigny, governor of the town, and taken precautions for ſecuring a part of the fortifications which was unfiniſhed, he might have fruſtrated their attempt; but being extremely diffident of the Spaniſh part of the garriſon, which had the ſame ground of diſcontent with the mutineers, and flattering himſelf with the hopes of being able to appeaſe them, he ſuffered them to enter the city without reſiſtance, to the number of three thouſand men. They had no ſooner entered, than they formed themſelves in order of battle. The citizens were overwhelmed with terror, and many of them fled precipitately out of the city. Requeſens rode up to the mutineers, and remonſtrating to them on the pernicious tendency

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dency of their conduct, he prayed, entreated, and threatened them; but could not, by addreſſing either their hopes or fears, draw any other conceſſion from them, but that they would abſtain from plunder, on condition that they ſhould receive immediate payment of their arrears, and that the Walloons and Germans under the command of Champigny, ſhould be ordered to quit the town. With this laſt requeſt, the Governor thought it expedient to comply; and thus the mutineers were left in full poſſeſſion of the place, without any force to control them. The firſt object of their attention was to ſecure the gates, after which they diſperſed themſelves over the city, and took up their quarters in the houſes of the principal inhabitants, where they ſtudied to create expence, and night and day to give diſturbance and uneaſineſs. They were perpetually calling on the Governor to fulfil his engagements; and as they daily threatened to ſack and plunder the town, if he did not ſpeedily comply with their requeſts, the people were diſquieted with continual apprehenſions and alarms. The mutineers required payment not only of their own arrears, but of thoſe too which had been due to ſuch of their companions as had died of diſeaſes or fallen in battle. At length, the ſum of one hundred thouſand

thouſand florins was raiſed by the inhabitants; and the Governor was obliged to pledge his jewels and furniture for the remainder, and to grant a pardon, confirmed by a ſolemn oath, to all concerned in this ſedition; after which the mutineers returned under their former officers, and went to join the reſt of the army which was now in Holland, and had already begun the ſiege of Leyden. BOOK XIII. 1574. May 30,

Destruction of the King's fleet.

FROM this mutiny, Philip's intereſt in the Netherlands ſuffered greatly in ſeveral reſpects. In the time of D'Avila's expedition againſt Count Lewis, Requeſens having exerted his utmoſt vigour and activity, had equipped a numerous fleet, which he intended to employ in the recovery of Zealand. When the mutineers arrived at Antwerp, this fleet, which was not yet of ſufficient ſtrength, lay under the walls of the city. Adolphus Hanſtede, the Commander, anxious for his charge, and apprehenſive that the ſeditious ſoldiers might, in order to extort compliance with their demands, take poſſeſſion of the ſhips, had removed them to a place at ſome diſtance from Antwerp, where they were out of the reach of the Spaniards. But, in avoiding this danger, he fell into a greater. The Zealanders, whoſe partiſans were continually on the watch, quickly received intelligence of his change of

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ſtation, and reſolved to improve the opportunity which was thus preſented to them. Having attacked him when he was utterly unprepared for defence, they took forty of his ſhips; ſunk and deſtroyed ſeveral others; and rendered all the reſt unfit for ſervice. By this ſevere blow, the plan which Requeſens had projected for recovering the maritime towns, was entirely diſconcerted. The fleet now deſtroyed, was to have acted in conjunction with another, which Philip had been preparing in the ports of Spain. But as the Spaniſh fleet was deemed too weak to contend ſingly with the enemy, the deſign was laid aſide for the preſent; and no future Governor of the Low Countries ever found it practicable to revive it[g].

WHILST the Zealanders availed themſelves of the ſedition in the Spaniſh army, by ſea, the Prince of Orange had been equally intent on deriving advantage from it by land. On receiving information of the fate of his brothers, he had begun his march towards Holland; but when intelligence was brought him that the Spaniards had mutinied, he reſolved to improve the opportunity which this afforded him, by making ſome new acquiſition. Paſſing over

[g] Bentivoglio, p. 149. Meteren, p. 137.

into

into the Iſle of Bommel, which is formed by the confluence of the Maeſe and the Rhine, he engaged the chief town in it to eſpouſe his intereſt; and having fixed his head-quarters there for ſome time, he gave ſupport to his friends in the iſland, and reduced to great extremity ſuch of the people as ſtill adhered to the Spaniſh government. The Marquis of Vitelli was dispatched by Requeſens to oppoſe his progreſs. That able commander rendered abortive a deſign which the Prince had formed on Bois-le-duc; and the Prince, on the other hand, took meaſures which prevented the town of Bommel from falling into the hands of Vitelli. But the attention of both was ſoon after this ingroſſed by a more important and intereſting object, the ſiege of Leyden, to the relation of which I ſhall proceed, after mentioning an attempt of Requeſens to put an end to the war, by publiſhing a new act of indemnity in the name of the King.

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ALTHOUGH ſeveral perſons were excluded from the benefit of this indemnity, yet it was much more comprehenſive than that which had been publiſhed ſome time before by the Duke of Alva. It did not however produce the deſired effect. The people were not conſcious of that guilt which Philip's pompous deed of clemency imputed to them; they believed

Act of indemnity.

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lieved that they had ſuffered wrong, inſtead of having done it; and they could not be grateful to him for diſpenſing with a puniſhment, which they thought it would have been in the higheſt degree tyrannical to inflict. Beſides this, the pardon was clogged with a condition, by which almoſt all the inhabitants of Holland and Zealand, amounting to many hundred thouſands, and great numbers too in the other provinces, were excluded. This was, that the Proteſtants ſhould renounce their religion, and return into the boſom of the church; a condition from which Philip's bigotry would never ſuffer him to depart, nor the zeal and ſincerity of the Reformers permit them to accept. Requeſens could not be ignorant of this, yet he entertained ſome hopes at this time of bringing about an accommodation, by means of St. Aldegonde, who had not as yet obtained his liberty. The Governor ſent Champigny and Junius de Jong to treat with him; but when St. Aldegonde informed them that no peace would ever be agreed to by the maritime provinces, unleſs the queſtion concerning religion were left to the deciſion of the States, Requeſens, who knew that Philip would never conſent to that condition, ordered the conference to be immediately diſſolved [h].

[h] Bentivoglio, p. 150.

He

HE now bent his whole attention to the ſiege of Leyden. He had blockaded that city for ſeveral months in the winter ſeaſon, and reduced the inhabitants to great diſtreſs; but he had been obliged to deſiſt from his undertaking, and to call off his troops to oppoſe the German army. They left their ſtations in the neighbourhood of Leyden on the 21ſt of March, and returned them on the 26th of May. 1574. The ſiege of Leyden.

IN order to form a juſt conception of the operations of this memorable ſiege, it is neceſſary to remember that Leyden lies in a low ſituation, in the midſt of a labyrinth of rivulets and canals. The city was large and populous; and at the time of the ſiege was ſurrounded with a deep ditch, and a ſtrong wall, flanked with baſtions. That branch of the Rhine which ſtill retains its ancient name, paſſes through the middle of it; and from this ſtream ſuch an infinity of canals are derived, that it is difficult to ſay whether the water or the land poſſeſſes the greater ſpace. By theſe canals, the ground on which the city ſtands is divided into a great number of ſmall iſlands, united together by near a hundred and fifty ſtone bridges, that are equally ſubſervient to the beauty of the place, and the convenience of the inhabitants. Leyden is at the diſtance of a few hours journey from the Hague, Delft,

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and Gouda; and only a little farther from Rotterdam on the one hand, and Haerlem on the other. On account of its ſituation, as well as on its own account, it was deemed a place of the firſt importance, and a prize worthy of all the ardour which was diſplayed by the contending parties.

THE Prince of Orange, who had received notice of the Governor's intention to renew the ſiege, communicated his intelligence to the citizens; and exhorted them to furniſh themſelves with ſtores of proviſions, and to ſend out of the town all ſuch perſons as would be uſeleſs in defending it. They were not ſufficiently attentive to theſe injunctions. The Prince complained of their remiſſneſs, and informed them that for three months at leaſt it would not be in the power of the States to raiſe the ſiege.

To retard the approach of the Spaniards, he ordered ten companies of Engliſh adventurers, under the command of Colonel Edward Cheſter, to take poſſeſſion of two forts, one at the ſluice of Gouda, and the other at the village of Alphen, by which the enemy muſt paſs in their way to the city. Theſe troops did not anſwer the expectation which William had conceived of their behaviour. The five companies which were

were placed at the ſluice of Gouda, after a ſhort reſiſtance, betook themſelves to flight; and the other five, after a ſkirmiſh in which no perſon fell on either ſide, baſely imitated the example of their countrymen, and retired under the walls of Leyden. The citizens, who from their ramparts had beheld their ignominious behaviour, and ſuſpected them of treachery, refuſed to admit them within the town. The Engliſh aſcribed their conduct to the inſufficiency of the fortifications which they had been appointed to defend; but not being able to wipe out the ſuſpicion entertained of their fidelity, they all deſerted to the enemy, but a few whom the people of Leyden received with open arms[i].

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The Prince of Orange having intended that the Engliſh forces, after being obliged to quit their firſt ſtations, ſhould have retired into the town, had not provided any other troops to defend it. The inhabitants were therefore reduced to the neceſſity of truſting, for their defence, to their own valour and conduct: a circumſtance, which at firſt had a formidable aſpect, but which in the end proved the cauſe of their preſervation; ſince it was thereby much longer before they were reduced by

[i] Meteren, p. 139.

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famine, than it would have been, if, beſides themſelves, they had had a numerous garriſon to ſupport.

Janus Douza, chief magiſtrate of Leyden.

THE government of Leyden was committed on this occaſion to Janus Douza[k], a perſon of noble birth; and well known in the literary world, by his poetical productions. By his example, and his eloquence, this illuſtrious patriot kindled in the minds of his fellow-citizens ſuch a zeal for liberty, and ſo great an abhorrence of the tyranny of Spain, as rendered them ſuperior to every diſtreſs, and in a great meaſure ſupplied their want of military ſkill. They muſt, however, have been found inferior to the Spaniards; and if Valdez, the Spaniſh commander to whom Requeſens committed the conduct of the ſiege, had puſhed his operations with proper vigour, he muſt certainly have made himſelf maſter of the town. But whether he wanted to ſave his men, and to carry his end without bloodſhed; or deſpaired, with the ſkill and force which he poſſeſſed, to be able to reduce ſo ſtrong a place by ſack and ſtorm, he did not think of any other expedient for ſubduing it, but that of blocking it up on all ſides, ſo as to prevent the entrance of ſupplies. To this one point, all his opera-

The blockade is formed.

[k] Or Jean Vander Does, Lord of Noordwick.

tions

tions were directed. By a circular chain of more than ſixty forts, which communicated with each other, and ran quite round the city, he inveſted it on every ſide, and not only rendered it impoſſible to introduce ſupplies, but even cut off all intelligence between the beſieged and their friends in the other cities, except what was conveyed by pigeons, in the manner to which the Proteſtants had recourſe during the blockade of Haerlem [1].

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By one of the forts called Lammen, the beſieged having been deprived of the benefit of paſturing their cattle in the neighbouring meadows, they ſallied out with great fury upon the Spaniards, and almoſt got poſſeſſion of the fort; but after an obſtinate and bloody conteſt, they were at laſt obliged to retire. The Spaniards fortified themſelves in that ſtation more ſtrongly than before; and the beſieged now deſpaired of being able, either in that, or any other quarter, to remove them to a greater diſtance from the city. Inſtead of this, they apprehended daily their nearer approach to it; and expected that they would ſoon open their batteries, in order to prepare for taking it by ſtorm. This belief ſerved to quicken the in-

Conduct and reſolution of the inhabitants.

[1] Theſe pigeons were embalmed, and are ſtill preſerved in the town-houſe of Leyden. Les Delices des Pays Bas.

habitants;

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habitants; and the women as well as the men were employed day and night, without ceaſing, in ſtrengthening the fortifications. An account was taken of the ſtock of proviſions within the town; and in order to make it hold out as long as poſſible, they began to huſband it betimes. They were perpetually exhorting and animating each other, and expatiating upon the cruelty and perfidy of the Spaniards, and the unworthy fate of the people of Zutphen, Haerlem, and other places, who had truſted to their faith and mercy. When they were ſolicited to turn to their allegiance by Lanoy, De Lique, and other natives of the Low Countries; they made anſwer, in the words of a Latin poet,

Fiſtula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps.

To other letters, in which they were deſired to reflect on the miſery to which they muſt ere long be reduced, they replied, that they had, upon the moſt mature conſideration, reſolved rather to die of hunger, or to periſh with their wives and children in the flames of the city, kindled by their own hands, than ſubmit to the tyranny of the Spaniards [m].

[m] Another ſaying, ſtill more ferocious, is recorded by ſome hiſtorians; That rather than ſubmit to ſo perfidious an enemy, they would feed on their left arms, and defend themſelves with their right. Van Meteren, ut ſupra.

THAT

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THAT miſery which, during the firſt two months of the ſiege, exiſted only in idea, was at laſt realized. Their whole ſtock of ordinary proviſions being conſumed, they were obliged to have recourſe to the fleſh of dogs and horſes. Great numbers died of want; and many by the uſe of this unnatural food. The reſolution of the people at length began to fail, and they now believed their preſent calamities to be ſuperior even to thoſe they ſhould experience under the Spaniſh government. Some of them conceived a deſign to deliver up the town, and formed a ſecret aſſociation for this purpoſe. But their plot being detected, means were taken to prevent them from putting it in execution. A great number of people having come one day in a tumultuous manner to a magiſtrate whoſe name was Adrian, exclaiming that he ought either to give them food, or deliver the town into the hands of the enemy, "I have ſolemnly ſworn," he replied, "that I will never ſurrender myſelf, or my fellow-citizens, to the cruel and perfidious Spaniard; and I will ſooner die than violate my oath. I have no food, elſe I would give it you. But if my death can be of uſe to you, take, tear me in pieces, and devour me; I ſhall die with ſatisfaction, if I know that by my death I ſhall for one moment relieve you from your direful neceſſity." Their diſtreſs.

By

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By this extraordinary anſwer, the people, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, were ſilenced, and their fury was for ſome time appeaſed.

The States reſolved to lay the country under water.

The Prince of Orange, who was not ignorant of the extreme miſery to which the beſieged were reduced, had done every thing in his power to accompliſh their relief. He had already collected large ſupplies of proviſions; but could not, with all his activity and addreſs, raiſe a ſufficient force to open a paſſage into the city. When he found that the ſituation of the beſieged would not admit of longer delay, he convened an aſſembly of the States of the province. And the deputies, after conſidering the ſtrength of the enemy, and the amount of their own forces, perceiving it to be impracticable to relieve the beſieged, either by land, or by the river and canals, agreed to have recourſe to an expedient, which was dictated by deſpair, and was the only one at preſent in their power to employ. They reſolved to avail themſelves, againſt the Spaniards, of that furious element, from which their country had often ſuffered the moſt dreadful devaſtation; to open their ſluices, to break down the dykes of the Maeſe and the Iſſel, and by thus laying all the country round Leyden under water, to get acceſs to the beſieged with their fleet. Nothing could be more repugnant

to

to the ideas of this people, than ſuch a reſolution. To drain their lands, to exclude the water, and preſerve their dykes, were then, as they are ſtill, objects to the Dutch of almoſt continual attention, and which coſt them annually an immenſe expenſe. But they were at preſent animated by objects ſtill more important and intereſting; and their love of liberty, joined to their dread of popery and the Spaniſh yoke, prevailed over every other conſideration. The damage which it was ſuppoſed would ariſe from the meaſure adopted, was eſtimated at ſix hundred thouſand guilders. But they conſidered, that if the Spaniards ſhould ſucceed in their preſent enterpriſe, not only the region to be overflowed, but all the reſt of the province, would fall under their ſubjection. This the States regarded as infinitely worſe than either poverty or death; and in their preſent diſpoſition, they would have choſen to ruin the country altogether, rather than leave it to be enjoyed by an enemy whom they held in ſuch abhorrence. They now applied themſelves to the demolition of thoſe mounds, upon which their exiſtence as a nation depends, with a degree of induſtry and ardor, equal to that which they were accuſtomed to employ in repairing them, after the ravages of an inundation.

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THE

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THE water, after its barriers were removed, diffuſed itſelf over all the adjacent fields; and in a few days, almoſt the whole region which lies between Rotterdam, Gouda, Delft, and Leyden, was overflowed. The Spaniards were thrown at firſt into the utmoſt dread and terror; but when they underſtood the cauſe of this unexpected inundation, and obſerved that the water did not riſe above a certain height, they recovered from their aſtoniſhment. They were obliged to abandon ſuch of their forts as were ſituated in the lower grounds, and to retire to thoſe which ſtood higher; but of theſe laſt they hoped to be able to keep poſſeſſion, and to continue the blockade, till the famine, which they knew raged in the town with dreadful fury, ſhould conquer the obſtinacy of the citizens, and bring the ſiege to a concluſion.

THE Prince of Orange, in the mean time, was employed in preparing every thing neceſſary to carry into execution the meaſure which the States had adopted. He ordered to be built, at Rotterdam and other places, near two hundred flat-bottomed veſſels, having each of them, ten, twelve, fourteen, or ſixteen oars; and theſe he mounted with guns, and manned with eight hundred Zealanders; a rude and ſavage, but a brave and determined band, animated

nated at once by religious zeal, and the moſt implacable hatred againſt the Spaniards; and whoſe appearance was rendered horrid by the ſcars of innumerable wounds, which they had received in their late naval engagements. They were brought from the fleet by Boiſſot, the Admiral of Zealand, to whom the conduct of the preſent enterpriſe was committed [n]. BOOK XIII. 1574.

With ſuch of the veſſels as were already equipped, Boiſſot left Delft in the beginning of September, and directed his courſe towards Leyden. But the water had not as yet riſen to a ſufficient height, and the banks of the rivers and canals, in which only there was a proper depth of water, were ſo ſtrongly fortified, as to render his approach to the city impracticable. From ſome of their forts he obliged the Spaniards to retire, but others were of ſufficient ſtrength to withſtand the moſt vigorous attacks. In order to avoid theſe, he broke down more dykes as he advanced, and in his progreſs had ſeveral bloody engagements with the enemy. The blockade, however, remained ſtill as cloſe as ever. Boiſſot began to be apprehenſive of the iſſue. Heaven ſeemed not

[n] The ſpirit by which theſe men were actuated, may be conceived from their method of diſtinguiſhing themſelves; which was by wearing a half moon on their caps, with this inſcription, "Turks rather than Papiſts." Meteren, p. 140.

to

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to favour his deſign. The north wind continued much longer than had been ever known at the preſent ſeaſon, and retarded the water in its aſcent. The Prince of Orange, when Boiſſot entered upon this expedition, had been confined to his chamber by a dangerous illneſs. He was now recovered, and came to viſit the Admiral's diſpoſition of his ſhips, which he found to be exactly conformable to the directions which the States had given him; but their deſign, the Prince perceived, muſt prove abortive, and all their labour and expence be loſt, unleſs the wind ſhould change ſoon to another quarter, and the autumnal tides riſe as uſual.

The anxiety and miſery of the citizens.

WITH extreme impatience they now expected the approach of theſe tides, which are commonly the ſubject of their dread and terror. The ſituation of the beſieged was become the moſt deplorable and deſperate. During ſeven weeks there had not been a morſel of bread within the city; and the only food had been the roots of herbs and weeds, and the fleſh of dogs and horſes. Even all theſe were at length conſumed; and the people reduced to live on ſoup made of the hides of animals which had been killed. A peſtilence ſucceeded to the famine, and carried off in a few weeks ſome thouſands of the inhabitants. Thoſe who ſurvived, overwhelmed with anguiſh at the diſ-

mal ſcenes which they daily beheld, were ſcarcely able to perform the mournful office of burying the dead. In this dreadful ſituation they ſaw from their walls, the ſails and flags of the veſſels deſtined for their relief; but had the mortification to perceive, that it was utterly impoſſible for them to approach. It is not ſurpriſing that ſome of the people, finding their miſery greater than they were able to endure, ſhould have entertained the thoughts of ſurrendering the town to the enemy. Some conſpiracies were again formed for this purpoſe; but they were diſcovered and defeated by the vigilance of Douza, ſupported by a great majority of the people, to whom neither the peſtilence, nor famine, nor death in its moſt hideous forms, appeared ſo dreadful, as the tyranny of the Spaniards. 1574.

Their deliverance.

But the time of their deliverance was at hand; and Heaven interpoſed at laſt in a conſpicuous manner in their behalf. Towards the end of September, the wind changing from the north-eaſt to the north-weſt, poured the ocean into the mouths of the rivers with uncommon violence; and then veering about to the ſouth, it puſhed the water towards the plains of Leyden, till they were converted into a ſpacious lake, in which the Spaniſh forts were ſeen ſcattered up and down, and many of them almoſt covered with water.

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Boissot seized with ardor the opportunity which was thus presented to him. And though several of the enemy's fortifications still lay in the way by which it was necessary for him to advance, he soon obliged the Spaniards to abandon them. The Zealanders pursued them, sometimes on foot along the dykes, and sometimes in their boats; and had several fierce rencounters with them, in which, from the advantage which their boats afforded them, they were every where victorious. The situation of the Spanish troops at this time was truly deplorable. Some were swallowed up in the mud and water; and others, attempting to march along the dykes, were either killed by the fire from the boats, or dragged down with hooks fixed to the ends of long poles, and put to the sword without mercy. Fifteen hundred perished in their retreat.

All the forts were now forsaken, except the fort above mentioned, called Lammen, of which, if the Spaniards had kept possession, they might have retarded the approach of the fleet for several days. This fort was much stronger, and stood higher than the rest. But when the garrison understood that their General had fled, and that the Zealanders on the one hand, and the besieged on the other, were preparing to begin an attack, they abandoned their station, and by torch-light effectuated

tuated a junction with the reſt of the forces in the middle of the night. BOOK XIII. 1574.

In this manner was the ſiege of Leyden raiſed, in the beginning of the fifth month after the blockade was formed. Boiſſot advanced without delay to the gates of the city. The people, pale and meagre, ran, as their ſmall remains of ſtrength would allow, to meet him; and many of them ſo greedily devoured the food which he diſtributed, that what was intended for their relief, proved the cauſe of their inſtant deſtruction; for proviſions of every kind in the city had been entirely exhauſted, and the beſieged were ſo weakened, that if the blockade had continued two days longer, they muſt all have periſhed[o].

When they were ſomewhat refreſhed with the food which Boiſſot had brought, they ac-

[o] They eſcaped ſtill more narrowly from falling into the hands of the enemy. In the night immediately preceding, and at the very time when the Spaniards were making their retreat from the fort of Lammen, a great part of the wall of the city having fallen down, the noiſe reached the ears of the Spaniards; who, if they had known the cauſe, might have entered the town without reſiſtance. But their dread repreſented the noiſe to their imaginations as the approach of the enemy, and ſerved only to precipitate their flight.

BOOK XIII. 1574.

companied the magiſtrates to one of the churches, to render thanks to the Almighty. Never was any aſſembly more deeply agitated. By the conſideration of their ſignal and unexpected deliverance, when they were upon the brink of ruin; joined to the remembrance of the diſmal ſcenes which they had witneſſed, and of the many friends and fellow-citizens whom the famine and peſtilence had carried off, their minds were overpowered at once with gratitude and ſorrow. They were diſſolved in tears; and mingled together the voices of praiſe and of lamentation.

THE cotemporary hiſtorians have further recorded, that when the Prince of Orange received information of the raiſing of the ſiege, being engaged in public worſhip in one of the churches at Delft, he ſtood up, and read to the audience the letters which contained the intelligence; after which, the States being convened, a day of general thankſgiving was appointed.

THE Spaniſh army took their route by the way of Amſterdam and Utrecht, and attempted to get poſſeſſion of the laſt of theſe places by ſurpriſe: but the gates being ſhut againſt them, and a contribution of money offered, they were prevailed on to purſue their

march towards Maeſtricht, where they were put into Winter-quarters[p]. BOOK XIII. 1574.

[p] Meteren, p. 139. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 130. Bentivoglio, p. 151.

The Spaniards threw all the blame of the failure of their enterpriſe upon their General, whom they accuſed of having been remiſs in his operations againſt the town, on account of a bribe of two hundred thouſand florins, which they alleged he had accepted, either from the States of Holland, or from the people of Leyden. Whether there was any ground for this accuſation, does not appear with ſufficient evidence. But the ſoldiers flew to arms, ſeized his perſon, and confined him, till he agreed to pay them the two hundred thouſand florins, which, they ſaid, he had received from the Hollanders.

PART II.

BOOK XIII.

1575. Negotiations for peace.

THE difficulties which the Spaniards encountered in the ſeveral enterpriſes that have been related, gave Philip a very different idea of the ſpirit, vigour, and reſources of the malcontents, from what he had hitherto entertained; and determined him to liſten to an offer, which his couſin the Emperor Maximilian made at this time, of mediating a reconcilement. Maximilian was prompted to interpoſe his influence, partly perhaps by concern for the intereſt of his kinſman, but chiefly by his apprehenſion, that through the cloſe connection which ſubſiſted between the Dutch and German Proteſtants, the flame which raged with ſo much fury in the Low Countries, might at laſt diffuſe itſelf into Germany. Having therefore interceded with Philip to grant the inſurgents favourable terms, and obtained powers to negociate an agreement, he transferred theſe powers to Count Scwartzenburg, whom he ſent into Holland, in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five, attended by ſeveral German nobles. On the Count's arrrival in Dort, he had an interview with his kinſman the

the Prince of Orange; with whom he employed all his own influence, and that of the Emperor, from whom he brought a confidential letter to the Prince. From the reſpect due to the Emperor, William conſented to a congreſs in the city of Breda. But as he could not be perſuaded, that Philip would be ever brought to offer conditions which the States could accept with ſafety, he believed that the treaty propoſed would prove abortive, and therefore he exhorted the States to keep themſelves in a poſture of defence, and to proſecute with vigour their preparations for renewing the war, when the congreſs ſhould be diſſolved. The Prince himſelf was not of the number of the deputies; nor did thoſe who were appointed, though leſs obnoxious to Philip's reſentment, think it ſafe to truſt themſelves in the power of the Spaniards in Breda, till Romero, and Mondragone, and two other perſons of diſtinction, were ſent into Holland as hoſtages. BOOK XIII. 1575.

From the proceedings at this congreſs, and the mutual diſtruſt which the deputies diſcovered, the reader will eaſily perceive the cauſes which rendered ineffectual, not only the preſent attempt, but likewiſe all the endeavours which were afterwards employed, during the ſpace of forty years, to reconcile the contending parties.

BOOK XIII. 1575. March 14th.

THE demands of the States of Holland and Zealand conſiſted of two articles; that the Governor ſhould immediately diſmiſs the foreign troops; and that a general aſſembly of the States of all the provinces ſhould be held to determine the ſeveral points in controverſy, whether civil or religious.

IN anſwer to theſe requeſts, the Spaniſh deputies obſerved, that it was unreaſonable to call the Spaniards by the name of foreigners, ſince they were equally the ſubjects of the King as the people of the Netherlands, and had done him the moſt ſignal ſervice, in that very country from which he was now requeſted to expel them. That the Germans, French, and Engliſh, in the ſervice of the States, might with much greater propriety be denominated foreigners. That the King did not intend, in caſe peace were eſtabliſhed, to retain the Spaniſh troops in the Low Countries longer than neceſſity ſhould require; but that it would be highly improper to urge him any further on this ſubject, as he could not, conſiſtently with honour, diſmiſs the forces in the preſent poſture of his affairs. They added, that after tranquillity was reſtored, the King would not be averſe to the convocation of the States, nor oppoſe their deliberating concerning ſuch affairs as properly belonged to them. That he would be ever ready to liſten to their counſel, and would

would regulate his conduct agreeably to it in every thing that was juſt and reaſonable. And that, in the mean time, he was graciouſly pleaſed to make them an offer of a full indemnity of their paſt offences, upon the following conditions: That all cities and forts, with their artillery and ſtores, ſhould be delivered into his hands; that every heretical form of worſhip ſhould be proſcribed; and that all ſuch perſons as were unwilling to forſake their errors, ſhould diſpoſe of their effects and leave the country. BOOK XIII. 1575.

To theſe declarations and offers of the Spaniſh deputies, thoſe of the States replied, that notwithſtanding what had been ſaid, they muſt ſtill adhere to their firſt requeſt, of having the provinces delivered from the oppreſſion of the Spaniſh and other foreign troops. Theſe troops were indeed ſubjects of the King of Spain, but they were not ſubjects of the Duke of Brabant, or the Earl of Flanders, Holland, or any other of the provinces, in which therefore they could not be ſuffered to remain, without a violation of a fundamental law of the conſtitution. It was true, that the French and Engliſh troops were foreigners; but theſe troops had come into the Low Countries at the deſire of the States; they had never aſſumed to themſelves any ſhare in the government, and were

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were deemed neceſſary by the States for their defence againſt the Spaniards; whereas the Spaniards had, from their firſt entrance into the Netherlands, treated the inhabitants as enemies and ſlaves; had arrogated to themſelves every important branch of the adminiſtration, and had, on many occaſions, exerciſed the moſt unrelenting cruelty, indulging, in the moſt abandoned manner, their lawleſs luſt and avarice, to the utter ruin of great numbers of the innocent and faithful ſubjects of the King. It would be impoſſible to reſtore tranquillity to the provinces while theſe men were allowed to remain, nor were they friends to the King or the peace propoſed who adviſed him to retain them. If the ſervice which the King had received from his Spaniſh troops, were compared with the miſchief of which they had been the authors, it would be found that they had done infinitely greater harm than good; and that by the lawleſs rapine which they had exerciſed, they had received much more than a ſufficient compenſation for all their ſervices. The inhabitants of the Low Countries were conſcious of having often contributed to advance the glory of the Spaniſh crown. Nor could even their late conduct, if juſtly conſidered, be interrupted as a breach of their duty to the King, ſince they had never oppoſed his exerciſing any rights which appertained to him

him as ſovereign of the provinces; and although they had taken up arms, they had never employed them but in vindicating thoſe rights and privileges which the King himſelf had ſworn to maintain, or in defending their lives and fortunes, their wives and children, againſt the violence and lawleſs tyranny of the Spaniards. BOOK XIII. 1575.

It gave them much concern to find, that the King would not agree to ſummon an aſſembly of the States till peace ſhould be reſtored, as they were convinced that no other means ſo effectual could be deviſed for eſtabliſhing peace on a firm and permanent foundation. It gave them ſtill greater concern to hear the deputies, in the name of the King, expreſs themſelves, as if they looked upon the States only as counſellors, whoſe advice he would or would not follow, according as he ſhould judge expedient. This they could not help conſidering as an intimation, that the States were to be limited in the exerciſe of their authority; and if this was intended, no uſeful purpoſe could be ſerved by calling them together. With the conditions annexed to the proffered indemnity, it was impoſſible they could comply. They could not deliver the cities and forts into the hands of the Spaniards, without being apprehenſive of the fraud exemplified in the fable of

BOOK XIII. 1575. of the war between the wolves and the ſheep, in which the latter were perſuaded to give up their auxiliaries, the dogs, into the hands of their crafty foes. For they had not forgotten the fate of the Counts Egmont and Horn, and many others, who repented when it was too late of putting faith in promiſes which their enemies could violate with impunity. And with reſpect to the other condition, that all heretics ſhould quit the country; as they could not believe the religion now eſtabliſhed in Holland and Zealand to be heretical, ſo if all who had renounced the Popiſh faith were to be deemed heretics, and expelled from the Netherlands, there would not be a ſufficient number left to keep the dykes in repair; the country would be ſtript of the greateſt part of its inhabitants, and ere long be buried in the waves. They concluded with entreating the deputies to take the repreſentation they had made in good part, as proceeding from their zeal for the intereſt of the King as well as of the provinces; and with praying Almighty God to inſpire the King and his miniſters with milder ſentiments than thoſe which they had hitherto embraced.

In the reply which was made to this remonſtrance, the Spaniſh deputies, after complaining of the ſpirit in which it was compoſed, ſaid that

that the King would ſo far comply with the requeſt relative to the foreign troops, as to ſend them away immediately after the terms of peace were ſettled; provided the States would at the ſame time diſmiſs the foreigners in their ſervice, and deliver up the cities and other fortified places. He would likewiſe ſummon the aſſembly of the States, as ſoon as the preſent diſturbances had ſubſided; but he could not, conſiſtently with his dignity, ſubmit to their deciſion, the conditions on which peace was to be eſtabliſhed; ſince this would be to abandon what he regarded as his peculiar prerogative, and to allow them to preſcribe where it was their duty to obey. In particular, he was determined never to refer to their deciſion the important queſtion concerning religion. The States, as well as the King, had ſworn to maintain the Catholic faith; and no conſideration would ever prevail on him to ſuffer them to depart from it in the ſmalleſt article. He was not afraid of depopulating the maritime provinces by the expulſion of heretics; on the contrary, he believed that theſe provinces would flouriſh more, for that tranquillity which unity of faith would enſure; and if the heretical miniſters were removed, he doubted not that the people would ſoon perceive the folly into which they had been betrayed, and return into the boſom of the church.

BOOK XIII.

1575.

May 31ſt. Final anſwer of the States.

THE deputies of Holland and Zealand, after conſulting their conſtituents, gave the following as their ultimate reply. That they were willing to refer the ſeveral points of difference, the diſmiſſion of the Spaniſh troops, the delivering of the cities, forts, and military ſtores, the nature of the ſecurity to be given for fulfilling the conditions of the peace, and even the article of religion, to the general aſſembly of the States of all the provinces: and they were willing, they ſaid, to make the laſt of theſe conceſſions, not from any intention of giving up their religion, which no conſideration would induce them to forſake; but from the deep concern which they felt on account of the long continued calamities of their fellow-citizens; to put an end to which, they were ready to abandon their native country, if the States ſhould find it neceſſary to eſtabliſh a religion, with which their conſciences would not ſuffer them to comply.

The conferences diſſolved.

COUNT Schwartzenburg now perceived that no greater conceſſion could reaſonably be expected. He repreſented to the Governor, that conſidering how deep the Proteſtant religion had ſtruck its roots in the maritime provinces, the extirpation of it could not be ſpeedily accompliſhed; and he urged him to grant a truce for ſix months, during which time the exerciſe of that religion ſhould be permitted, and every

lenient meaſure employed to ſooth and conciliate the minds of the people. But Requeſens had not authority from the King to agree to this requeſt; and he refuſed to grant even a truce of two months, except on condition that the Proteſtants ſhould abſtain from their mode of religious worſhip, and oblige their miniſters immediately to quit the country. With this condition Count Schwartzenburg knew that the maritime provinces would never be perſuaded to comply. He therefore deſpaired of being able to bring his negotiation to the deſired iſſue, and ſoon after ſet out for Germany. The congreſs was diſſolved. The hoſtages were reſtored; and the contending parties, having their reſentment more inflamed than ever, applied themſelves to the proſecution of the war [q].

BOOK XIII. 1575.

The war renewed.

July 24th

The deputies had no ſooner left Breda, than Requeſens publiſhed an edict, prohibiting all communication with the malcontents; and immediately afterwards ſent his troops, under the Count de Hierges, to lay ſiege to the town of Buren; which they ſoon obliged to capitulate. From Buren they marched to Oude-water, and in ſpite of a brave and vigorous defence, they took it by ſtorm; exerciſing at this place their wonted fury,

[q] Meteren, p. 146—152. Bentivog. lib. ix. ab initio.

and

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and putting the garriſon and all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction either of ſex or age. Hierges proceeded next to Schowen upon the Leck. The Prince of Orange made haſte to ſend a reinforcement to the garriſon. But the inhabitants, dreading the ſame fate as that of the people of Oudewater, obliged the garriſon to ſurrender. After which, Hierges directed his march towards Crimpen. Vitelli, in the mean time, with the forces under his command, reduced a number of places which lie between the Leck and the Vahal; and Mondragone was no leſs ſucceſsful in the quarter of Holland, which borders upon Brabant.

The Governor undertakes the conqueſt of Zealand.

BUT Requeſens did not incline that his troops ſhould puſh their conqueſts in Holland any further at preſent. In compliance with his inſtructions, he reſolved to bend his whole attention to the reduction of ſome of the principal towns in Zealand, which Philip was deſirous of acquiring, for the reception of a fleet to be ſent from Spain. In order to accompliſh this deſign, Requeſens drew off his troops from Holland; and had, ſome time before, prepared a number of flat-bottomed veſſels, proportioned to the depth of the gulfs and canals. In theſe veſſels he intended to have tranſported his troops to Zealand; but the Prince of Orange having

having received intelligence of his deſign, and collected a naval force of the ſame kind, much ſuperior in number, he relinquiſhed his firſt plan, and adopted another that ſeemed equally difficult and dangerous. This was to imitate what was done by Mondragone, when he raiſed the ſiege of Tergoes, and to make the ſoldiers wade through an arm of the ſea, which was five miles broad. 1575.

Bold and ſingular enterpriſe of the Spaniards.

In the north-eaſt parts of Zealand, there are three iſlands much larger than the reſt; Tolen, Duveland, and Schowen. Tolen, which lies neareſt to Brabant, was in the hands of the Spaniards; and between this iſland and Duveland, lies the little iſle of Philipſland, which is ſeparated from Duveland by the canal, or arm of the ſea, over which Requeſens intended that his forces ſhould paſs on foot. It was known from ſome experiments which had been made, that this canal was fordable; nor was it quite ſo broad as that which Mondragone's troops had paſſed over to the relief of Tergoes. But there was ſtill much reaſon to ſuſpect that the attempt would be found impracticable.

Such of the officers as were of this opinion, obſerved, that there was a wide difference between the enterpriſe in queſtion, and that of Mondragone, whoſe men had no other

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obſtacles to encounter but thoſe of the paſſage, and needed only ſtrength and patience to enſure ſucceſs; whereas, in the preſent caſe, the enemy having taken the alarm, were continually upon the watch; and the ford was in a manner beſieged by their numerous veſſels, which were ready to attack the Spaniards, when they would be unable to defend themſelves. And even allowing that they ſhould ſurmount theſe difficulties, and effectuate their paſſage, yet what remained for them, on their approach to the oppoſite ſhore, but to be attacked by a a freſh and vigorous enemy, advantageouſly poſted, before they could diſentangle themſelves from the mud and water.

By theſe conſiderations, ſome of the principal officers were induced to remonſtrate againſt the intended enterpriſe, as too hazardous and deſperate; and they were of opinion, that no attempt ought to be made on Zealand till the fleet from Spain ſhould arrive. But this prudent counſel was not ſuited to the bold intrepid ſpirit which animated the greater part of the Spaniſh officers. The remembrance of their former victories, joined to their contempt of the malcontents, inſpired them with confidence of ſucceſs; and they were unwilling to divide the glory of their conqueſts with their countrymen, who were ſuppoſed to be on their way from Spain. If this enterpriſe, ſaid

ſaid they, be impracticable in the day, why may we not undertake it in the night; when we ſhall either elude the vigilance of the enemy; or, if they get information of our deſign, yet we ſhall have little reaſon to dread their efforts, as they will be obliged to fire their guns at random, and ſpend their force in air. The troops poſted on the other ſide to oppoſe our landing, will act as their countrymen have often done on ſimilar occaſions. The boldneſs of our adventure, and the daring countenances of our men, will overwhelm their daſtardly ſpirits with diſmay and terror.

Requesens was not naturally fond of raſh or daring enterpriſes; but being exceedingly deſirous to carry his ſcheme of ſubduing Zealand into ſpeedy execution, he tranſported three thouſand ſelect troops, compoſed of an equal number of Spaniards, Walloons, and Germans, to the iſle of Philipſland. Then having ordered D'Avila to attend him with the fleet, on board which he put one half of theſe forces, he gave the command of the other half, deſtined to attempt the paſſage, to Oſorio D'Ulloa, a Spaniſh officer of diſtinguiſhed courage, who had warmly exhorted him to undertake this bold and ſingular expedition.

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On the 28th of September, as ſoon as it was dark, and the tide had begun to retire, Ulloa entered the water at the head of his troops, with the guides before him. The troops were followed by two hundred pioneers; and the rear-guard was formed by a company of Walloons, commanded by an officer of the name of Peralta. They could march only three men a-breaſt, on the top of a ridge of earth or ſand, and were often obliged to wade up to the ſhoulders, and to bear their muſkets on their heads, to preſerve them from the water. They had advanced but a little way, when the Dutch and Zealanders approached, and began a furious diſcharge of their ſmall arms and artillery. And not ſatisfied with this, many of them leaped into the water, and with hooks faſtened to the ends of long poles, laid hold of the ſoldiers, oppreſſed with the weight of the element through which they toiled; maſſacring ſome, and plunging others in the waves. Nothing but the darkneſs of the night, which prevented the two ſquadrons of the enemy's ſhips from acting in concert, could have ſaved the Royaliſts from deſtruction. But, notwithſtanding the difficulties under which they laboured, they perſiſted bold and dauntleſs in their courſe, exhorting and aſſiſting one another; and without quitting their ranks, repelling the enemy, and defending themſelves as well as their deſperate circum-

circumſtances would allow. Their calamities increaſed as they approached to the oppoſite ſhore. For beſides that their vigour was impaired, they had deeper water to paſs, and the enemy's ſhips could come nearer to the ford. At laſt, however, they reached the land, in time to ſave themſelves from deſtruction. The banks were lined with a numerous body of troops; and if theſe troops had behaved with an ordinary degree of reſolution, it is impoſſible that the Spaniards, drenched as they were with mud and water, and exhauſted with fatigue, could have ſtood before them. But unfortunately, in the beginning of the attack, their commander was killed by an accidental ſhot of one of his own men. Conſternation ſeized his troops, and they fled in the moſt daſtardly manner, before an enemy unable to purſue.

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This extraordinary adventure, though it ſucceeded beyond what could juſtly have been expected, was not executed without loſs. The pioneers were all either overtaken by the tide, or deſtroyed by the enemy. The rear-guard under Peralta ſaved themſelves by returning back. Of the troops under Ulloa a conſiderable number was killed or drowned, and others wounded. But among the killed there was only one perſon of diſtinction, named Pacheco; concerning whom it is recorded,

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that being wounded by a muſket-ſhot, and unable to advance, and ſome of his men urging him to ſuffer them to bear him on their ſhoulders, he replied, "*That* would ſerve only to retard your march. My wound is mortal; I die, and not without ſome honour, in ſo glorious an enterpriſe." Saying this, he ſunk down into the water[q].

WHEN the Dutch and Zealanders ſaw that, in ſpite of their oppoſition, the Royaliſts had accompliſhed their deſign, they quitted the canal, and went to give notice of what had happened to the inhabitants of the ſea-port towns, which they ſuppoſed the enemy intended to attack. Requeſens immediately laid hold of the opportunity which their departure afforded him to tranſport the reſt of his forces to Duveland; where they joined their companions, and ſoon compelled all the Proteſtant troops on the iſland to fly over to Ziricſee, the capital of Schowen.

[q] Bentivoglio, p. 168. This hiſtorian gives the ſame authority for the above-mentioned particulars, as for thoſe of the paſſage at Tergoes; the teſtimony of Rivas, Governor of Cambray, who was an actor in both.

* The Spaniards were not a little encouraged by an appearance then rare, but ſince familiar and common, an Aurora Borealis, or northern light; which ſhone all the time of their paſſage, and which they interpreted as a ſign wrought by Heaven in their behalf.

THE

THE reduction of that city was the immediate and principal object of the preſent expedition. For beſides that Requeſens hoped, by poſſeſſing Ziricſee, to be able to diſturb the communication between Holland and Zealand, he conſidered it as the fitteſt place for the reception of the reinforcement which he expected from Spain, and he intended to make it the ſeat of his ſtrength in that quarter, till he ſhould collect a naval force ſufficient to enſure the conqueſt of Middleburg, Fluſhing, and the other towns in Walcheren. Towards Ziricſee, the army, now commanded by Mondragone proceeded without delay. Before they could reach it, they found it neceſſary to paſs over the canal which ſeparates Duveland from Schowen, and on the oppoſite ſide of which they ſaw the enemy preparing to diſpute their paſſage. This did not deter them from the proſecution of their deſign. Animated by the example of their leaders, they leaped without heſitation into the canal, which was near a league over, having the bottom full of mud, and advanced forward with ſuch undaunted intrepidity, that the enemy, regarding them with aſtoniſhment, abandoned their ſtation, and left the paſſage free and undiſputed.

The deſperate defence of Bommene.

MONDRAGONE would have immediately begun the ſiege of Ziricſee, but thought it neceſſary

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ſary before-hand to make himſelf maſter of certain poſts, which the Zealanders had fortified, in order to ſecure the communication between the inhabitants of that town, and their friends in the other iſlands and on the continent. Theſe forts were three in number; one on the ſouth near Borendam, and the other two called Browerſhaven and Bommene, on the north and eaſt. Through the imprudent confidence of the Spaniards, who made an aſſault on the firſt of theſe forts too ſoon, it coſt the lives of ſixty of that nation, with Peralta their commander; beſides a conſiderable number of Germans and Walloons. The fort of Browerſhaven ſubmitted without reſiſtance; but that of Bommene, which was better fortified, was likewiſe more valiantly defended than the other two. Du Lis, a French officer, commanded the garriſon, conſiſting of Germans, French, and Engliſh; into whoſe breaſts he had infuſed the ſame generous and dauntleſs ſpirit with which he himſelf was animated. The behaviour and fate of this brave determined garriſon deſerves a place in hiſtory. At the time of high water their fortification was impregnable, as at that time the ſea filled both the ditch which ſurrounded it, and a canal which paſſed through it; but at low water, and for ſome hours before and after that time, the ditch was fordable, and the enemy could advance to the very

very foot of the wall. Both Requeſens and Vitelli had come to direct the operations of the ſiege. Agreeably to their commands, the Royaliſts, after approaching as near as poſſible to the ditch, by means of trenches, opened a large battery, which continued firing upon the fort for two days inceſſantly, till a ſufficient breach was made. Then waiting till the water had retired, they made a furious aſſault; but the beſieged withſtood their moſt vigorous efforts, and at laſt obliged them to retire, with the loſs of a hundred and fifty killed, and twice that number wounded. The Spaniards, enraged on account of their repulſe and loſs, returned to the aſſault next day, and began to ſtorm the fort on different ſides at the ſame time. Both parties were highly agitated with fury and deſpair, and both were alike determined either to die or conquer. The proſpect of the returning tide wrought equally on the fears of the aſſailants, and the hopes of the beſieged. The former knew, that if they did not carry their point ſoon, they muſt a ſecond time ſuffer the ſhame and ſlaughter of a repulſe; and the latter conſidered, that if they could hold out a few hours longer, the water would deliver them for the preſent, and the enemy be perhaps deterred from renewing the aſſault. Incited by theſe reflections, the combatants on both ſides exerted all their vigour, and

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diſplayed

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displayed a degree of fortitude and proweſs, which ſeldom occurs in the annals of hiſtory. Each perſon, regardleſs of his ſafety, and intent only upon annoying the enemy, the conflict was as bloody and deſperate, as the time was critical and important. It had laſted for near ſix hours, and many of the braveſt on both ſides had fallen. At laſt, the aſſailants, perceiving the quick approach of the tide, and collecting and exerting at once their whole force, overpowered the beſieged with their numbers, and burſt forward irreſiſtibly within the walls of the fort; in which the garriſon ſtill continued to reſiſt, till there was not a ſingle perſon left to enjoy the glory of ſo illuſtrious a defence. The Royaliſts paid dear for their victory; above two hundred men, beſides thoſe who had fallen in the firſt aſſault, were killed upon the ſpot, and a much greater number wounded[r].

The ſiege of Ziricſee.

THEY now proceeded to the ſiege of Ziricſee; and in this undertaking their difficulties were greatly augmented, and the ſiege prolonged, by a reſolution of the inhabitants, who had broken down the dykes of the canal, and laid the adjacent country under water. This meaſure, of which the States of Holland had lately ſet the example during the ſiege of

[r] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 147.

Leyden,

Leyden, ſhewed how firmly determined the citizens were to make a vigorous defence, and rendered impracticable all the ordinary methods of conducting ſieges, by trenches, batteries, and aſſaults. Mondragone perceived, that the reduction of Ziricſee muſt be a work of conſiderable time, and that the only expedient which he could employ, was to block it up on every ſide, ſo as to prevent the entrance of ſupplies. Theſe it could receive only by the way of a ſmall canal, dug from Ziricſee to the great one above mentioned, which ſeparates Schowen from the iſle of Duveland.

In order to ſecure the communication between theſe canals, the Zealanders had fortified the banks of the ſmaller, where it is joined to the greater; and while they retained poſſeſſion of the batteries which they had planted there, they ſecured a free entrance to the ſhips which were ſent from Holland and Walcheren with ſupplies. To deprive them of this reſource, and lock up the mouth of the ſmall canal, was the firſt and principal object of Mondragone's attention. For this purpoſe he ſtationed his ſhips in thoſe parts where the water was deepeſt; and formed in the moſt ſhallow parts an eſtacade, a work of a prodigious labour, which employed his troops for ſeveral months, and was attended with conſiderable

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bloodſhed. By perſeverance, however, he brought it at laſt to a concluſion; and then having drawn another ſtacado of the ſame kind, from an iſland which lay in the entrance of the canal, he joined the two ſtacados together by ſtrong iron chains, and thus rendered all acceſs impracticable.

During the progreſs of theſe operations, the Proteſtants embraced every opportunity of introducing ſupplies into the city; and they were greatly favoured by the ſeaſon, which was ſo much milder than uſual, as to leave the river and canals navigable through the whole of winter. But in the beginning of February, the enemy's works were completed, and from that time, all attempts to relieve the beſieged, by the way of the ſmall canal, proved ineffectual. Their friends were therefore obliged to turn to another quarter.

In the beginning of the ſiege ſeveral cuts had been made in the dyke of the great canal on the ſide of Schowen, in order, as was mentioned above, to overflow the country. Through one of theſe cuts, near the village of Dreiſcher, the Prince of Orange propoſed to convey ſupplies to Ziricſee acroſs the inundation; and he committed the execution of his deſign to Count Hohenloe, a German noblemau

nobleman of the moſt unqueſtionable ſpirit and reſolution; but a ſtorm ariſing, and the Spaniards having encamped moſt of their forces, and planted batteries on the dyke, cloſe by the cut, they obliged Hohenloe to retire. The Prince, not diſcouraged by this check, prepared to make a ſecond attempt with a more powerful armament. And in order to animate his troops, he reſolved to conduct the enterpriſe himſelf. 1575.

The Prince of Orange attempts in vain to relieve it.

He reached Dreiſcher, and approached the cut, at the time of high water. In the beginning of the attack he threw the enemy into confuſion, made conſiderable ſlaughter among them, and carried off ſome pieces of cannon from their batteries. But the Spaniards, rouſed by the danger which threatened them, quickly recovered their ſtations, and made a bold and vigorous reſiſtance, till the tide began to retire; when the Prince perceiving it to be impracticable to advance, was obliged, in order to ſave his fleet from deſtruction, to return into the great canal. Boiſſot, the Admiral, whoſe ſhip was much larger than the reſt, did not retreat in time; and his ſhip having ſtuck againſt the bottom, he himſelf, and about three hundred of his crew, either periſhed in the waves, or were killed by the enemy. This was the laſt attempt for the relief of the beſieged; who, being at length overpowered with their miſe-

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ries, agreed to ſurrender the town into the hands of Mondragone; and that General, deſirous to put a period to ſo tedious an enterpriſe, granted them ſuch favourable terms as they were willing to accept[s].

THIS ſiege had laſted near nine months, and during all that time had occupied the greateſt part of the Spaniſh army.

Death of Vitelli.

BUT before the ſurrender of Ziricſee, other events had happened which rendered thoſe that have been related of ſmall importance to either party; and which, while they diſappointed the hopes entertained by the Spaniards of completing the conqueſt of Zealand, in a great meaſure delivered the confederates from thoſe diſquieting apprehenſions which the late ſucceſs of the Spaniſh arms was calculated to excite. The firſt of theſe events was the death of Vitelli, who was, without controverſy, the ableſt and moſt experienced general at that time in the Netherlands.

Death of Requeſens.

VITELLI's death was quickly followed by that of Requeſens. In carrying on the ſiege of Ziricſee, much greater ſums had been neceſſary than he was able to ſupply. From Spain, he knew that, conſidering the exhauſted

[s] Meteren, p. 155. Bentivoglio, p. 170.

condition

condition of the King's finances[t], occaſioned by his war with the Turks, no money could be expected; and the States of ſuch of the provinces as retained their allegiance, were either unwilling, or unable, to comply with his demands. Thus, great arrears were due to his troops, and they had already began to mutiny, and to exerciſe the moſt intolerable oppreſſion on the people; to whom he had been obliged to grant the liberty of wearing arms for their defence, from a well-grounded apprehenſion, that if he had not permitted them to do this, they would have done it without his authority[u].

Requesens had too much ſenſibility, and too little ſtrength of mind, either to endure patiently the mortifications, or to encounter reſolutely the difficulties, to which he was expoſed. His vexation and chagrin preyed inceſſantly on his health and ſpirits, and at length brought on a fever, of which he died in a few days; leaving behind him a much higher character for civil than for military accompliſhments, in which he was confeſſedly much inferior to his predeceſſor the Duke of Alva[w].

[t] Meteren, p. 156.

[u] This liberty had been taken from them by the Duke of Alva.

[w] Thuanus, tom. iii. p. 464. Strada, tom. ii. p. 35.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XIV.

AFTER the death of Requeſens, who had been prevented from nominating his ſucceſſor by the violence of his diſeaſe, the Council of State aſſumed the reigns of government; and as the King heſitated for ſome time in his choice of a Governor, he found it neceſſary to confirm their authority. BOOK XIV. 1576. The government in the hands of the Council of State.

THIS revolution afforded great ſatisfaction to the people of Holland and Zealand; who flattered themſelves with hopes, that now, when the adminiſtration was lodged in the hands of their fellow-citizens, the war would not be carried on with the ſame animoſity and

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ardor as before. At firſt, however, the council entered heartily into the late Governor's deſigns, and proſecuted with vigour the plan of operations which he had left unfiniſhed. And they continued to do ſo till their attention was called to objects of a ſtill more intereſting nature, than the reduction of the maritime provinces.

Mutiny of the Spaniſh troops.

THE Spaniſh cavalry had, as already mentioned, begun to mutiny before the death of Requeſens. During the ſiege of Ziricſee, the infantry remained obedient to their commanders, partly from being kept in perpetual employment, and partly from the hopes of enriching themſelves by the plunder of that city; but being diſappointed in theſe hopes by the articles of the capitulation, and large arrears being due, to the payment of which even the contributions of the people of Ziricſee were not applied[a], they flew to arms, depoſed their officers, elected others, and a commander in chief from among themſelves; and then having ſworn mutual fidelity over the ſacred hoſt, they abandoned all their conqueſts which had coſt them ſo much labour and blood, and paſſed over to Brabant; intending to take poſſeſſion of ſome conſiderable fortified place,

[a] Meteren ſays, that the Walloons laid hold of the money, and with great dexterity excluded the Spaniards from the town.

from

from whence they might make excurſions, and plunder the neighbouring towns and villages.

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THE Council of State ſent Count Manſvelt to appeaſe them; but no offers or promiſes which the Count was empowered to make, could divert them from their deſign. They hoped, by the rapidity of their march, to have entered Bruſſels by ſurpriſe; but both the inhabitants and garriſon were prepared to oppoſe them. They failed likewiſe in an attempt on Mechlin. Then leaving Brabant, they turned ſuddenly towards Alloſt in Flanders; and made themſelves maſters of that town, by climbing over the walls in the middle of the night, when the citizens were off their guard. They could not have acquired poſſeſſion of a place more ſuitable to their deſign; as it was ſituated in the midſt of a rich and fertile country, and lay at nearly an equal diſtance from Bruſſels, Ghent, and Antwerp. They had no ſooner diſplayed the ſtandard of rebellion in Alloſt, than they were joined by moſt of the other Spaniſh troops in the Low-Countries; after which they began to exerciſe every ſpecies of violence and outrage, both againſt the citizens and the inhabitants of the country round.

THE Prince of Orange remained not idle or unconcerned in this critical conjuncture. He

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had too much ſagacity not to diſcern, and too much zeal and dexterity not to avail himſelf of ſo favourable an opportunity of advancing his deſigns. By his letters, and emiſſaries, he endeavoured to rouſe the ſpirit of the people, and to perſuade the Council, "That now was the time when they might deliver themſelves for ever from the tyranny of Spain. By the good providence of God, the government had fallen into their own hands." It ought to be their unalterable purpoſe, to hold faſt the power which they poſſeſſed, and to employ it in delivering their fellow-citizens from that intolerable load of miſery under which they had ſo long groaned. The meaſure of the calamities of the people, and of the iniquities of the Spaniards, was now full. There was nothing worſe to be dreaded than they had already ſuffered; and nothing to deter them from reſolving either to expel their rapacious tyrants, or to periſh in the glorious attempt."

They are declared rebels by the Council.

THESE exhortations, enforced by accounts which were propagated of the enormities committed by the Spaniſh troops, found an eaſy admittance into the minds of perſons of all ranks. The Council of State were no leſs inflamed than the people; and reſolved to publiſh an edict, declaring the Spaniards to be rebels againſt the King. Barlaimont, Manſvelt, Viglius, even the Spaniſh officers of the higheſt rank,

rank, and Rhoda, preſident of the Council of Tumults, ſeemed at firſt inclined to concur with the other counſellors; but perceiving that their reſentment was not confined to the mutineers, but extended likewiſe to all the friends of the Spaniſh government, they began to alleviate the outrages of the ſoldiers, and openly oppoſed the publication of the edict; alleging, that troops which had mutinied on account of not receiving their pay, could not juſtly be conſidered as rebels; and that the edict would ſerve only to exaſperate them ſtill more againſt the people, while the Council was not provided with force ſufficient to reſtrain their exceſſes. But theſe reaſons were held in great contempt by a majority of the Council; who, having expelled the diſſenting members, accuſed them of holding correſpondence with the mutineers, and threw them into priſon. Then having elected the Duke d'Arſchot for their preſident, in the room of Viglius, they publiſhed an edict in terms ſtrongly calculated to increaſe the odium againſt the Spaniſh troops; calling on the people to concur with them in driving out that lawleſs and rapacious crew, who, under the pretext of procuring payment of their arrears, would, if they were not ſpeedily prevented, bring utter ruin upon the Netherlands.

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1576. Hoſtilities between the Spaniards and Flemings.

NOTHING could have been more conſonant to the general ſpirit of the Flemings, than the ſentiments contained in this edict. It ſerved as fuel to that flame which was already kindled, and which now burſt out with redoubled violence. To give greater weight to the meaſures which had been already taken, and to thoſe which they intended to purſue, the Council called an aſſembly of the States: and all the provinces, Luxemburg excepted, ſent deputies to attend. This aſſembly had no ſooner met than hoſtilities were begun. The citadels of Antwerp, Ghent, Valenciennes, and Utrecht were in the hands of the Spaniards. Romero commanded in Lieres; and Maeſtricht was garriſoned by ſome companies of German infantry. To acquire poſſeſſion of theſe important fortreſſes, and to prevent the Spaniſh troops from uniting themſelves into one body, were the objects upon which the States beſtowed their firſt and principal attention. They were ſucceſsful in gaining over to their ſide the regiments of Walloons in the Spaniſh ſervice; and they raiſed ſo great a number of militia of the country, as, when joined with the Walloons, formed a conſiderable body of troops.

THE Spaniards, on the other hand, prompted by Rhoda, and animated by the brave and

active D'Avila, exerted themſelves no leſs ſtrenuouſly in counteracting their deſigns. An officer of the name of Vargas, having drawn together eight hundred horſe in the neighbourhood of Maeſtricht, had advanced as far as Viſenach, in his way to Alloſt, in hopes of prevailing on the mutineers to act in concert with him. At Viſenach he was met by two thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, which the States had ſent to oppoſe him. But the Spaniards were not ſo much inferior in number, as they were ſuperior in military diſcipline. Vargas ſupplied his want of infantry by making a company of Burgundians quit their horſes. The Flemiſh troops, though they began the attack with great impetuoſity, fell ſoon into diſorder; and the Spaniards broke in upon their ranks, and put them to flight, with conſiderable ſlaughter.

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VARGAS continued his route to Alloſt; and was ſeconded in his application to the mutineers, by D'Avila and Romero; but neither the importunity of their officers, nor a regard to the honour of their nation, or to their perſonal ſafety, could overcome their obſtinate reſolution to remain in Alloſt, till they ſhould receive payment of their arrears. From Alloſt, Vargas led his troops, with the utmoſt expedition to Maeſtricht, which, he was informed,

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the Germans in garriſon there had agreed to deliver to the States. The execution of their deſign had been retarded by ſome companies of Spaniards, a part of whom were in poſſeſſion of one of the gates, and the reſt ſtationed in the town of Vich. This town lies on the eaſt ſide of the river, and is connected with Maeſtricht by a bridge over the Maeſe. Vargas, having tranſported his troops, and joined his countrymen at Vich, had a ſharp engagement with the townſmen upon the bridge; but as they were not ſupported by the Germans, he ſoon compelled them to retire. They paid dear for this attempt to aſſert their liberty. The Germans, inſtead of acting as their friends, united with the Spaniards, and both together plundered the town without mercy[b].

The ſacking and plunder of Antwerp by the Spaniards.

BUT the memory of the calamities which the people of Maeſtricht experienced on this occaſion, was effaced by thoſe which ſoon afterwards befel the citizens of Antwerp. The States had laboured in vain to perſuade the Spaniſh garriſon in the citadel to deliver it into their hands. They now reſolved to compel them; and, with this view, they had brought into the city a numerous body of Walloons and other troops. They had much reaſon for that

[b] Meteren, p. 164. Bentivoglio, p. 178.

ſolicitude

ſolicitude with which they deſired to get poſſeſſion of this important fortreſs; which, on the one ſide, communicated with the town, by a ſpacious eſplanade, and on the other, with the adjacent country. The States were not ſufficiently aware of the danger to which, from theſe two circumſtances united, the city of Antwerp was expoſed. Champigny[c], the Governor, had endeavoured to rouſe their attention to this danger, and had earneſtly exhorted them to block up the eſplanade by batteries and trenches; and, at the ſame time, to order all the troops that could be ſpared, to encamp without the town, ſo as to prevent the Spaniards at Alloſt and other places from entering the citadel. But they wholly neglected the latter part of this advice, and they were too late in beginning to put the former in execution. They believed that the garriſon would not venture to ſally out upon the town, in which there was ſo great a number of troops to oppoſe them; and they flattered themſelves with the hopes of being able to compel them to ſurrender, before they could receive aſſiſtance from their countrymen. For this purpoſe, two ſtrong batteries were planted on the eſplanade; while the townſmen were employed, either in

[c] He was brother to Cardinal Granvelle, and was as averſe from the Spaniſh intereſt as his brother was attached to it.

puſhing

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pushing forward the trenches, or in raising mounds for the security of the town.

The siege of the castle of Ghent was carried on at the same time, and the States had conceived the most sanguine expectations of success; when the noise of the artillery reached from both places to the mutineers in Alost; and, awakening in them some sparks of their native warlike ferocity, produced a more powerful effect upon their minds, than all the exhortations and entreaties of their commanders.

Navarese, their leader, seized dexterously this opportunity which their present disposition afforded him; and, calling them together, exhorted them to reflect upon the folly of suffering the fortresses besieged to fall into the hands of the Flemings. "That artillery," said he, "which is now thundering in our ears, is levelled against us, no less than against the garrisons of Ghent and Antwerp. When the Flemings shall have subdued the rest of our countrymen, can we doubt that they will next turn their arms against us, who are the principal objects of their resentment? Can you imagine that the States will then lend a more favourable ear, than at present, to your requests? Believe me, they will ere long extinguish

guiſh the debt which they owe you, in your blood. Let us march inſtantly to the relief of the citadel of Antwerp. We ſhall ſoon oblige the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. We ſhall, in ſpite of the townſmen, and the raw troops which they have brought to their aſſiſtance, make ourſelves maſters of the richeſt city in the world, and take ample revenge for the unworthy treatment we have received."

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He would have proceeded; but was prevented by ſhouts of applauſe, and exclamations from every quarter, To arms! to arms! They were now as impatient to leave Alloſt, as they had formerly been reluctant. On the third day of November, and only a few hours before ſun-ſet, they began their march; hoping to reach the citadel of Antwerp early next morning, unobſerved by the enemy. Having found greater difficulty in paſſing the Scheld than they expected, they did not arrive till noon; notwithſtanding which, being joined by four hundred horſe, under Vargas and Romero, who had acted in concert with Navareſe, they entered the citadel, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. The citizens were no ſooner informed of their arrival, than they ſuſpected their deſign, and were filled with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions. Champigny, the Governor, whoſe advice had been ſo unfortunately

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nately disregarded, saw the approaching storm, and did every thing in his power to avert it.

But the impetuosity of the mutineers did not leave him time for completing the arrangements which he intended. These men, impelled at once by avarice and revenge, rejected with disdain the invitation given by D'Avila to repose and refresh themselves after their march. With rage and fury in their countenances, they demanded the signal to advance; calling out, that they were determined, before night, either to perish in the conflict, or to fix their quarters in the city. They were in number between two and three thousand, and the garrison, together with the troops brought by Vargas and Romero, amounted nearly to the same number. Navarese led on the mutineers, and the remainder were commanded by Romero. Nothing could exceed the intrepidity with which these two determined bands, vying with each other, attacked the trenches. The citizens displayed, at the first onset, great bravery and resolution; but being unable long to withstand the impetuous attack of the Spaniards, and being galled at the same time by the artillery of the citadel, they at length gave way, and fled with precipitation along the two streets which lead from the parade into the centre of the city. The Spaniards were seconded

ſeconded by their cavalry; which bore down all before them, and followed cloſe upon the rear of the vanquiſhed, till they reached the great ſquare, in the centre of which ſtands the Guildhall or Palace. There the fugitives, being joined by ſome freſh troops, made a halt, and rallied; but they were ſoon broken a ſecond time, and would have been all cut to pieces, if they had not taken ſhelter in the palace, and in houſes of the ſquare. From the windows they kept, for ſome time, a briſk fire upon the enemy, and did conſiderable execution; but the Spaniards, who were accompanied by the retainers of their camp, ſet fire to the houſes, with hay, ſtraw, and other combuſtible materials, not ſparing even the palace itſelf; which was eſteemed one of the richeſt and moſt magnificent in the world. It was quickly reduced to aſhes; and of thoſe who had taken refuge in it, ſome periſhed in the flames, and ſome by the ſword in attempting to eſcape, while others, frantic with deſpair, flung themſelves headlong from the windows[d].

THE Spaniards then diſperſed themſelves over the city; overpowering all oppoſition with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. Had their number been ſufficient either to murder, or to over-

[d] Thuanus.

take

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take the multitude that fled before them, the carnage of that memorable day would have been ſtill more dreadful. Of the citizens near ſeven thouſand periſhed; while the loſs of the Spaniards amounted only to two hundred men. So great is the ſuperiority in battle, of regular diſcipline, and prompt obedience to command. For though the citizens fought with extraordinary courage, like men whoſe all was at ſtake, they acted not in concert; and although they had been marſhalled by Champigny, as well as the time would allow, yet, from want of practice, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and, from the ſame cauſe, they were unable to recover their ranks, or return to the charge.

Justice would oblige us to beſtow on the Spaniſh troops the praiſe due to the moſt heroic valour, if, beſides the rapacity which impelled them, they had not diſfigured the luſtre of their victory by exerciſing a degree of barbarous cruelty, of which, at that period, the Spaniards alone, of all the nations in Europe, ſeem to have been capable. Antwerp, at the time of this cataſtrophe, was in the moſt flouriſhing condition. Companies of merchants from almoſt every commercial nation, reſided in it, poſſeſſing ſtorehouſes and factories filled with the moſt precious commodities. Great numbers

numbers of the citizens too were the wealthieſt in Europe. Their magnificent houſes were adorned with the moſt coſtly furniture; and their ſhops and warehouſes ſtored with gold and ſilver ſtuffs, and all other kinds of valuable effects, [c]collected from every corner of the globe. Upon theſe the Spaniards ſeized, without any diſcrimination of the owners, and without conſidering whether the perſons, whom they pillaged, were friends or enemies. The plunder that lay open and unconcealed was immenſe; but was far from being ſufficient to ſatiate the avarice of the Spaniards. They exerciſed the moſt unrelenting cruelty upon all whom they ſuſpected to have concealed their treaſures; and nothing was to be heard in the city, but either the ſhrieks and groans of the ſufferers, or the lamentations of thoſe whom they compelled to behold the torments of their huſbands, wives, or children. Cotemporary hiſtorians have deſcribed ſome of the ſeveral ſpecies of torture which they inflicted; but the reader's modeſty would be offended, and his humanity ſhocked, by the recital [c].

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In this manner were theſe men, for three days and nights, employed in plundering and

[c] Thuanus and Meteren.

butchering

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butchering by turns, a people who were ſubjects of the ſame Prince as themſelves, and from whom (whatever ground of complaint they might pretend againſt the Council of State) they had never received the ſmalleſt injury or provocation. Nor does it appear that their officers interpoſed to moderate their exceſſes, till the ſoldiers, exhauſted with fatigue, were about to give over of themſelves.

THE money in ſpecie which was extorted, amounted at leaſt to eight millions of guilders, beſides an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, in plate, ſtuffs, and furniture, which the owners were not able to redeem. The loſs which the people of Antwerp ſuſtained by the burning of ſo many buildings, was not leſs than what they ſuffered by the rapacity of the ſoldiers. The moſt beautiful part of the city was burnt to the ground; and great numbers of ſhops and warehouſes, containing the richeſt goods, were conſumed to aſhes [f].

The States receive aſſiſtance from the Prince of Orange.

WHILST the barbarity exerciſed againſt the inhabitants of Antwerp, excited ſentiments of compaſſion towards the unhappy ſufferers, it greatly augmented that abhorrence which the

[f] Meteren, p. 164. Thuanus, tom. iii. p. 471. Bentivoglio, p. 178.

Flemings

Flemings already entertained towards the Spaniards, and made them more ſolicitous than ever to deliver themſelves from a yoke which was now become intolerable. But the great ſuperiority which the Spaniſh troops diſcovered on every occaſion over the raw undiſciplined forces of the States, created much anxiety with regard to the ſucceſs of their endeavours. The council of ſtate perceived the neceſſity of having recourſe to foreign aid; and they willingly accepted an offer, which was made them at this juncture by the Prince of Orange, of ſome cannon, ammunition, and troops, with which they puſhed forward the ſiege of the citadel of Ghent, and ſoon obliged the garriſon to capitulate.

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THIS ſeaſonable aſſiſtance contributed not a little to advance the Prince's views. Immediately after the death of Requeſens, he had projected a ſcheme of uniting all the provinces, and had exerted himſelf with great activity and addreſs, in carrying it into execution. The States entered readily into his ideas. Deputies were appointed, and inveſted with proper powers, by the ſeveral provinces; and in the congreſs which was held at Ghent, a treaty of confederacy was concluded, under which all the provinces, except Luxemburg, were comprehended.

The confederacy of Ghent. November 8th, 1576.

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In this confederacy, ſo well known in the hiſtory of the Netherlands by the name of the Pacification of Ghent, it was agreed between the Catholic provinces on the one hand, and thoſe of Holland and Zealand, with the Prince of Orange, on the other, that there ſhould ſubſiſt between them an inviolable alliance, peace, and friendſhip; that all paſt injuries ſhould be buried in oblivion; that all priſoners, and in particular the Count de Boſſut, ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſom; that the contracting parties ſhould, to the utmoſt of their power, aſſiſt each other in expelling the Spaniards from the Netherlands; that as ſoon as the provinces ſhould be delivered from theſe bloody oppreſſors, and tranquillity eſtabliſhed, a general aſſembly ſhould be held of the States of all the provinces, for redreſſing grievances, reforming abuſes, and reſtoring the conſtitution to its primæval ſtate; that the Prince of Orange ſhould remain High Admiral and Governor of the maritime provinces; and that he, and all others, whoſe property had been confiſcated, ſhould be reinſtated in their poſſeſſions and dignities; that all the decrees of the Duke of Alva, relative to the tumults and hereſy, ſhould be aboliſhed; but that in the Catholic provinces, only the Roman Catholic religion ſhould be exerciſed; while in thoſe of Holland and Zealand, all matters, whether civil

or

or religious, ſhould remain on their preſent footing, till a general aſſembly of all the States ſhould be held [1]. BOOK XIV. 1576.

Arrival of Don John of Auſtria.

THE deputies who were now convened, whom the hiſtorians call likewiſe by the name of the States, entered immediately upon the execution of the articles of this confederacy, by tranſporting to the frontier of France ſuch of the Spaniards as had been taken priſoners in the citadel of Ghent: and they had begun to make preparations to diſlodge them from other places, when they were informed that Don John of Auſtria, whom Philip had made choice of for Governor, had arrived in the province of Luxemburg. In ſome reſpects Don John was admirably qualified for this new ſtation, to which his brother had appointed him. His affable and inſinuating manners were fitted to conciliate the affections of the people whom he had been ſent to govern; and his military accompliſhments qualified him to purſue the war with vigour againſt the revolted provinces. But in the critical ſituation into which the late enormities of the Spaniards had brought the Netherlands, other talents beſides theſe were requiſite; ſuch as prudence,

[1] Meteren, p. 169. Bentivoglio, l. 9. ſub fine. Thuanus, l. 62. ſect. 13.

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patience, and ſelf-command, together with ſkill and dexterity in managing the paſſions and the prejudices of men; qualifications which Don John poſſeſſed not in an eminent degree.

His prudence.

His conduct upon his firſt arrival was ill calculated to allay thoſe ſuſpicions which the Flemings entertained of the King's deſign in ſending him to the Netherlands. Having ſtopt at Luxemburg, he wrote letters to the council and the States, in which he informed them, that he would not come to Bruſſels, the uſual reſidence of their Governors, unleſs hoſtages were given him for their peaceable behaviour, a guard appointed for the ſecurity of his perſon, and the ſame unlimited command of the fleet and army conferred upon him, which the preceding Governors had enjoyed. He lamented the outrages which had been committed by the Spaniſh troops; and promiſed, that, if the States and people ſhould maintain their obedience to the King, and their profeſſion of the Catholic faith, the injuries which they had ſuſtained, ſhould not paſs unpuniſhed. But he added, that if they failed in either of theſe reſpects, they ſhould, in that event, find him no leſs prepared for war, than he was inclined to peace [s].

[s] Meteren, p. 174.

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THE States and council were ignorant, till they received theſe letters, of the light in which their late conduct was conſidered by the court of Spain. They believed that, as the ſteps which they had taken were neceſſary for the preſervation of the people, it was impoſſible they could be offenſive to the King; and they were extremely ſurpriſed, thus to meet not only with diſtruſt, but even threats, and a defiance where they were conſcious of having merited approbation and applauſe. They trembled therefore at the thoughts of putting themſelves in the power of the new Governor, and were greatly at a loſs to determine what anſwer they ſhould return to his demands. On this occaſion they had recourſe to the Prince of Orange for advice. And William readily embraced the opportunity, which was thus preſented to him, of confirming his countrymen in thoſe ſuſpicions to which the Governor's conduct had given riſe.

The States apply for advice to the Prince of Orange.

"As it was but too manifeſt," he ſaid, "from the ſtrain of Don John's letter, that he intended to tread in the footſteps of his predeceſſors, the States and council had much need to exert all their firmneſs, prudence, and circumſpection. They ought ſeriouſly to conſider the important charge with which they were entruſted; and to remember, that upon

His advice, dated Nov. 30, 1576.

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their preſent conduct it depended, whether they and their wives, and children, and fellow-citizens, ſhould for the future enjoy thoſe rights which belonged to them as natives of the Low Countries, or ſhould be again expoſed to the lawleſs tyranny of the Spaniards. They ought to exerciſe with vigour the power which they poſſeſſed, and reſolutely reject all terms of agreement, with the Governor, by which the fundamental laws of the State might be brought into danger, or their own authority abridged. Enter not (ſaid he) into any accommodation with him, till the Spaniards, and all other foreign troops, be actually diſmiſſed. Truſt not to any ſoothing promiſes which he may give you, of diſmiſſing them at a more convenient ſeaſon. Remember how the King himſelf, when he went to Spain, aſſured you, that the troops which he then left behind him, ſhould, in three months afterwards, be withdrawn; and yet they were ſuffered to remain for more than a year and a half; and would, notwithſtanding your ſolicitations, have ſtill remained, if the calamity which befel his army in Africa, had not made it neceſſary for him to remove them. Let no conſideration perſuade you to liſten to Don John's requeſt of the unlimited command of your forces. By granting this, you will furniſh him with weapons againſt yourſelves. Nothing can expreſs his diſtruſt more

more ſtrongly, than his unprecedented requiſitions of hoſtages, and a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon. If you comply with theſe demands, you will enable him to annihilate your authority and to trample under foot your moſt ſacred rights and laws. It is impoſſible to believe that one who diſcovers ſo much ſolicitude to ſtrip you of your power, can ſeriouſly intend your welfare. Is it not more reaſonable that the Governor ſhould truſt the States, than that the States ſhould lay themſelves at the mercy of the Governor? Such demands were never made, even by your Princes themſelves; whoſe practice always was, to come unarmed to your aſſemblies, and to take an oath to maintain your privileges, before they received from you any promiſe of obedience. Conſent not to put yourſelves under the power of John of Auſtria, upon eaſier terms than have been ever inſiſted upon with your native Princes. Require him, previouſly to his admiſſion, to interpoſe his authority for the immediate departure of the Spaniſh troops; and ſolemnly to engage to govern the State according to its fundamental laws[h]. To theſe conditions, your late fatal experience will juſtify you, if you add, that you ſhall have the power of aſſem-

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[h] Here the Prince mentions the particular privileges to which he alludes, and the times when they were obtained. Meteren, p. 175.

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bling yourſelves twice, or even thrice a year, if you ſhall judge it to be expedient; that the citadels ſhall be razed to the ground; that the right of appointing the Governors and Magiſtrates ſhall be veſted in you; and that, without your conſent, no military force ſhall be levied, and no garriſons ſtationed in the towns or forts. At preſent, it little imports you to conſider whether or not this conduct will give offence to the King, for it is mere deluſion, if you flatter yourſelves that you have not already offended him. Promiſes, ſoothing ſpeeches, and profeſſions of affection, on his part, will not be wanting; but you will diſcover the laſt degree of weakneſs, if, after what you have experienced for ſeveral years paſt, you are not ſenſible, that nothing now remains for you, but either miſerably to bend under the yoke, from which you have ſo happily eſcaped, or to employ with vigour and fortitude the means with which Providence has furniſhed you; and which, I doubt not, may yet prove effectual for your ſecurity, provided you maintain harmony and concord among yourſelves [1]."

The States apply for aid to foreign powers.

THIS letter, in ſome meaſure, produced the deſired effect. It put to ſilence all thoſe who were for receiving Don John on his own terms;

[1] Meteren, p. 175, 176. Bentivoglio, lib. ix. ab initio. Thuanus, l. lxii. ſect. 15.

and

and the States, more ſuſpicious than ever of his deſign, reſolved to inſiſt upon the diſmiſſion of the troops, and the confirmation of the pacification of Ghent, as conditions, without which they would never agree to acknowledge his authority. And that they might not be found unprepared, in caſe of his refuſal, they gave orders for making new levies; drew together an army at Wavre, between Bruſſels and Namur; and diſpatched ambaſſadors to ſolicit aſſiſtance from foreign courts. BOOK XIV. 1576.

In Germany, where they were powerfully ſeconded in their applications by the Prince of Orange, they engaged in their intereſts John Caſimire, Count Palatine of the Rhine. In France they did not confine their application to the Calviniſts, but likewiſe prevailed upon the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, to eſpouſe their cauſe, by ſetting before him the proſpect of an eſtabliſhment in the Low Countries, more ſuitable to his rank than he could expect to obtain in his brother's dominions. From the Queen of England, their envoy met with the moſt gracious reception. It was matter of the higheſt ſatisfaction to this ſagacious Princeſs, to ſee her inveterate enemy thus embroiled with his Flemiſh ſubjects; but, as ſhe was ſtill deſirous to avoid an open rupture with Philip, ſhe choſe to aſſiſt them with money rather

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rather than with troops, and gave them forty thouſand pounds, with a promiſe of continuing her favour, on condition (which ſhe added in order to ſave appearances) that they ſhould adhere to the pacification of Ghent, and not throw off their allegiance to their legal ſovereign.

Their negociation with Don John.

WHILE the States were making theſe preparations to vindicate their rights by force of arms, they ſincerely deſired to attain their end, by negociation with the Governor. For they had too long groaned under the calamities of war, not to wiſh moſt earneſtly for peace, provided that bleſſing could be ſecured without making a ſacrifice of their liberties. Don John, on the other hand, diſcovered an extreme reluctance to comply with the conditions which they required of him; but he endeavoured to diſſemble his ſentiments, and attempted, by fair ſpeeches, to cajole and deceive them. Still, however, he continued to ſhew his diffidence, by inſiſting upon having a numerous guard for his perſon; and by refuſing his conſent to the departure of the Spaniards, unleſs the States ſhould at the ſame time diſmiſs the foreign troops in their ſervice, and give hoſtages, to remain in the hands of a neutral power, till their engagements ſhould be fulfilled.

THE

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THE States, whoſe jealouſy was kept alive by the repeated warnings of the Prince of Orange, eaſily penetrated into Don John's deſigns; and they reſolved, if poſſible, to convince him, by one deciſive ſtep, that it was in vain for him to expect that they would ever depart from the terms propoſed. In their aſſembly at Bruſſels, on the fifth of January one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, they drew up a new deed of union, in which they engaged in the moſt ſolemn manner, to maintain inviolably for ever, the pacification of Ghent; to ſpare neither their goods, their perſons, nor their lives, in order to fulfil it; and to regard as perjured traitors, all thoſe who, participating in the preſent union, ſhould by word, deed, or counſel, counteract it. A copy of this deed, ſubſcribed by the Governor and deputies of all the towns and provinces; by the nobility, prelates, and other dignified eccleſiaſtics; and by the members of tribunals, councils, colleges, and chapters, together with a ſolemn ratification of it by the council, was ſent by the States to Don John, as their final anſwer to his demands [k]. 1577.

THIS meaſure contributed not a little to promote the end propoſed. It gave Don John Their agreement with him.

[k] Meteren, p. 179.

a proof

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a proof of firmneſs on the part of the States, which he little expected, and ſhewed him the neceſſity of either agreeing to the conditions which they ſo earneſtly required, or of reſolving inſtantly to have recourſe to arms. Inflamed by ambition and the love of war, he would not have heſitated a moment what part to act, had not his inſtructions from the King required that he ſhould avoid coming to an open rupture with the Catholic provinces. He conſidered likewiſe, that the States had got the ſtart of him, and were already well prepared to repel force by force. Nor was he ignorant of the encouragement which they had received, to hope for ſuccour from the neighbouring powers; or of the danger to which great numbers of the Spaniſh troops, ſurrounded by their enemies, were expoſed, of being reduced by famine. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, and truſting that ere long, after quieting their ſuſpicions, opportunities would offer of depriving the States by degrees of that power of which they were at preſent ſo tenacious, he entered into a negociation with their deputies at Marche en Famine, a city in Luxemburg; and after many obſtructions and difficulties, concluded a treaty with them, which they fondly termed the Perpetual Edict.

March 12.

IN

In this treaty he engaged, that all the foreign troops in the ſervice of Spain ſhould leave the Netherlands, and never return thither without the conſent of the States; that the Spaniards and Italians ſhould depart within the ſpace of forty days, and the Germans, immediately after receiving ſatisfaction with regard to their arrears; and that all the cities and forts poſſeſſed by theſe troops ſhould, as ſoon as they were relinquiſhed, be delivered to the States, together with the ſtores of ammunition, arms, and proviſions. He ratified the pacification of Ghent. He conſented that all priſoners detained on account of the late diſturbances, ſhould immediately be ſet at liberty, except the Count of Buren[1]. And he promiſed that diligent inquiry ſhould be made concerning the outrages lately committed by the troops; that juſtice ſhould be executed againſt the guilty, and a reaſonable compenſation made to the ſufferers, either in the Netherlands, or in Spain, according as the King ſhould be pleaſed to determine.

The States, on the other hand, engaged to preſerve inviolable their allegiance to the King, to maintain the profeſſion of the Roman Catholic faith throughout all the provinces;

[1] Son of the Prince of Orange.

to

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to receive Don John as Governor General of the Netherlands; and immediately to furniſh him with ſix hundred thouſand florins, for the payment of the Italian and Spaniſh troops, in order to prevail on them the more eaſily to depart from Spain or Italy.

The States of Holland refuſe to concur.

As ſoon as this treaty was concluded, ambaſſadors were diſpatched by the Catholic States, who alone were concerned in it, to the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland and Zealand, to deſire their concurrence. It might eaſily have been foreſeen, that this application could not be attended with ſucceſs. For although the maritime provinces had conſented, in the pacification of Ghent, to ſubmit the queſtion of religion to the deciſion of a general aſſembly, to be held after the departure of the Spaniards; yet in that aſſembly they knew that they would have leiſure to employ all their influence in behalf of their religion, and to offer ſuch reaſons againſt proſcribing it, as they hoped would prove a ſufficient counterpoiſe to the religious zeal of the popiſh States. Without this expectation it can hardly be ſuppoſed that Proteſtants, whoſe ſincerity in their profeſſion was ſo unqueſtionable, would ever have agreed to leave to others the determination of a matter in which they were ſo deeply intereſted; and therefore it is not ſurpriſing,

that they declined acceding to the treaty now preſented to them, in which this important point had, without obtaining their conſent, been ſo haſtily decided. But leſt they ſhould alarm the bigotry of the Catholic provinces, they took no notice, in their anſwer, of this, which was their principal objection. They began, with ſaying, that they could not enough praiſe that generous zeal which the States had diſplayed, in delivering their country from the tyranny of the Spaniards; and they rejoiced to find that they ſtill perſiſted in their reſolution of adhering to the pacification of Ghent. But after conſidering attentively the treaty which had been tranſmitted to them, they were ſorry to obſerve, that it was extremely ill calculated to anſwer the laudable intentions of the States. For beſides ſeveral other objections of great weight, there was no proper proviſion made, in this treaty, for the regular calling of aſſemblies; in a convention, held on purpoſe to reſtore and ſecure their rights, an open infraction of them was ratified, by their conſenting to the unjuſt detention of the Count of Buren; the States had failed in the reſpect and gratitude which they owed to the Queen of England and the Duke of Anjou; and certain articles of the treaty were derogatory to the honour of the Netherlands; particularly that article, by which, inſtead of inſiſting upon a reſtitution of

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of thoſe invaluable effects, of which the Spaniards had plundered the inhabitants, they had promiſed money to thoſe men, notwithſtanding their having been ſolemnly declared traitors and rebels by the States themſelves, and by the council of State, when cloathed with the authority of the King.

Departure of the Italian and Spaniſh troops.

THE Catholics could not but be ſenſible of the ſtrength of theſe objections. Their impatience to be delivered from the Spaniſh troops, and their eager deſire of peace, had betrayed them into that precipitation of which they had been guilty. They could not avail themſelves now of the ſuperior penetration of the Prince of Orange. The treaty was already concluded, and nothing remained for them but to watch the Governor's motions, with an attentive eye, till the troops were removed to ſuch a diſtance, that they could not eaſily be recalled. Don John was at great pains to diſpel their ſuſpicions. For that purpoſe he employed all his influence to perſuade the Spaniards to depart; and he at length prevailed, though not till he had diſtributed among them the money which he had received from the States. This brave, but ferocious and ſavage band, then ſet out upon their march for Italy, like an army in triumph, loaded with the ſpoils of their fellow-ſubjects, and without compunction for the rapacity

rapacity and violence which they had exercised [m].

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Their departure diffused universal joy throughout the Netherlands, and the people indulged the flattering hope, that the King, having been at last touched with their calamities, had resolved to treat them with greater lenity and moderation than they had experienced since the beginning of his reign. Their satisfaction was heightened by the popular character of the Governor, who was in the prime of life; elegant and graceful in his person and deportment; lively, facetious, and affable, and who gained exceedingly from the comparison which men naturally formed of his insinuating manners, with the reserve and austerity of the King. He was received in Brussels with such marks of respect as had never been shewn to any former Governor; and persons of all ranks flattered themselves with the prospect of a just and mild administration.

Don John's admission to the government.

They did not long enjoy this soothing prospect. Although Philip himself had ratified the perpetual edict, and Don John had, before his admission to the regency, sworn in the most solemn manner to observe it, it soon appeared

His impolitic conduct.

[m] Thuanus, lib. lxiv. sect. vi.

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that nothing was farther from the intentions of either. The limitations which that edict impoſed upon the ſovereign's authority, were utterly repugnant to Philip's temper, as well as to the plan which he had formed for the government of the Netherlands; nor would he ever have empowered his brother to make ſo many conceſſions to the States, as the perpetual edict or pacification of Ghent contained, but in order more effectually to ſtrip them afterwards of that very power which he now conſented they ſhould enjoy. But Don John was, from his natural impetuoſity, incapable of executing this ſcheme, which required a much higher degree of circumſpection and experience, as well as patience and diſſimulation, than he poſſeſſed. His court was perpetually filled with Spaniards, and other foreigners, who had rendered themſelves obnoxious to the natives; nor were any of the Flemings admitted into his confidence, but ſuch as had ſhewn themſelves devoted to the Spaniſh intereſt; while thoſe who had diſcovered an attachment to the liberty of their country, were kept at a diſtance, and treated with indifference or contempt. This circumſtance contributed not a little to revive that jealouſy of his deſigns, which he had been ſo ſolicitous to allay. But the States were ſtill more alarmed, when he made them the following propoſals: that they ſhould not any longer

withhold from him the authority which his predeceſſors had enjoyed, but allow him to act as Captain-general, as well as Governor of the provinces: that they ſhould empower him, without waiting for the determination of the general aſſembly of the States, to execute the two articles of the late treaty, which related to the obedience due to the King, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion; and that, if the Prince of Orange would not immediately agree to accede to the perpetual edict, the States ſhould break off all correſpondence with him, and reduce him and the maritime provinces to obedience by force of arms. With theſe propoſals the States refuſed to comply, but expreſſed their refuſal in the ſofteſt terms; and without taking notice of his demand, to be allowed to act as Captain-general, they repreſented to him that, by the pacification of Ghent, both he and they were bound to wait for the meeting of the general aſſembly of the States; to whoſe deciſion the Prince of Orange, and the States of Holland and Zealand, had engaged to ſubmit.

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Don John perceiving that he was not likely to perſuade them, grew more impatient than ever under his preſent reſtraints, and reſolved now to employ either force or fraud, as opportunities ſhould offer. The States could not thoroughly penetrate his deſign, but they perceived

His duplicity.

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ceived how much he was diſſatisfied with his ſituation, and what difficulty they would find to obtain the performance of his engagements in the perpetual edict. This ſerved to render them more than ever ſolicitous for the departure of the German troops, which, it had been agreed, ſhould remain in the Netherlands, till they received payment of their arrears. Theſe arrears amounted to a very great ſum, which the States were utterly unable to raiſe at the preſent juncture. But having raiſed a part of it, they made an offer of that to the Germans, and deſired they would accept of goods and ſecurity for the reſt. In order to make a further trial of Don John's ſincerity, they entreated him to employ his influence to procure their conſent. Don John readily agreed to this requeſt; and declared that, if the Germans ſhould refuſe to comply, he would, at the hazard of his life, compel them. Having ſummoned their commanders to meet him at Mechlin, he went thither, as if on purpoſe to perſuade them; but in reality to inflame their minds againſt the States, and to exhort them to remain in the Netherlands, in the ſervice of the King. Having had the ſucceſs which he deſired with ſome of the principal officers, and judging it neceſſary now to redouble his hypocriſy with the States, he wrote to them, lamenting that a much greater ſum was neceſſary to ſatisfy the

the German troops, than could be procured in the Low Countries; and offering to ſend his ſecretary Eſcovedo to repreſent their ſituation to the King. This artifice was not altogether without effect. The States could not believe that Don John was capable of ſo great a deceit as he was now practiſing againſt them. They agreed to his propoſal, and, as an expreſſion of their gratitude, they ſettled a penſion of two thouſand ducats on Eſcovedo, who ſet out immediately for Spain; but with a deſign extremely different from that which was pretended. 1577.

He ſeizes on the caſtle of Namur.

Don John in the mean time carried on his intrigues with the German officers, and hoped ſoon, by their means, to get poſſeſſion of the fortified towns in which they lay. But before any of the plans which he had formed with this view were put in execution, he judged it neceſſary to withdraw from Bruſſels, and, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of ſome place of ſtrength near the frontier, where he might remain in ſafety till he ſhould find himſelf in a condition to take the field. Of all the frontier towns, Namur appeared the fitteſt for his purpoſe; being conveniently ſituated for the reception of the troops, to which he expected the King would ſoon give orders to return from Italy. It happened that Margaret de Valois, Queen

BOOK XIV. 1577. of Navarre, intended at this time to paſs through Namur, in her way to Spa. On pretence of paying his reſpects to Margaret, he left Bruſſels, and arrived in Namur, with a great number of the nobility and others, who were favourable to his deſign. But as the Governor of the caſtle was a perſon of ſtrict fidelity, Don John was obliged, in order to accompliſh his aim, to have recourſe to the following ſtratagem. Feigning to ſet out in the morning for the chaſe, he took his way by the caſtle; where having ſtopt, and inquired for the Governor, he pretended a curioſity to ſee the fortifications of the place. The Governor, flattered with this viſit, and ſuſpecting nothing hoſtile from men who ſeemed equipped only for hunting, readily admitted, not only Don John himſelf, but his attendants; ſome of whom having arms concealed under their apparel, immediately ſeized upon the gate[n].

July 24.

JOHN having thus ſecured poſſeſſion of the caſtle, the town was, by the aſſiſtance of Count Barlaimont, Governor of the province, ſoon ſubjected to his authority. He obſerved with triumph, that the day on which this event happened, was the firſt day of his regency. It might with greater propriety have been ſaid,

[n] Bentivoglio, lib. x. p. 192. 195. Meteren, p. 185.

that

that it was the firſt of thoſe calamities which purſued him to the grave. BOOK XIV. 1577.

After ſuch an open violation of his faith, there could be little room for any future negotiation with the States. Yet, in a letter which he wrote to them on this occaſion, he regretted that the plots which had been laid to deprive him of his life or liberty, had obliged him to have recourſe to ſo hoſtile an expedient, and he affirmed, that he was ſtill ready to obſerve the conditions of the perpetual edict; but declared, that he would not quit his preſent ſituation, till they ſhould make proviſion for the ſecurity of his perſon againſt the machinations of his enemies.

The States and council were greatly aſtoniſhed, when they received intelligence of this event. They had wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to preſerve the provinces from being plunged afreſh into the calamities of war. They conſidered that ſome of the principal cities in Brabant were in the hands of the Germans. They knew not what part theſe troops might act, if hoſtilities with the Governor ſhould take place; and they could not imagine that he would have ventured on ſo manifeſt a breach of the perpetual edict, without the proſpect of ſome powerful ſupport. They The aſtoniſhment of the States.

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immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to remonſtrate with him on the nature and conſequences of his conduct, and to requeſt him to return to Bruſſels. They promiſed to make the moſt ſerious inquiry into the machinations of which he complained, deſired that he would name the perſons guilty, and aſſured him, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their part to provide, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, for the ſecurity of his perſon.

Of the reality of theſe machinations he could produce no other evidence, but ſome anonymous letters, which, he ſaid, had been tranſmitted to him. But as no perſon was named in theſe letters, and the authors of them were utterly unknown, all men believed them to be a forgery of his own, or of his courtiers, deſigned to ſerve as a pretext for his preſent treachery.

The anſwer which he made to the States ſhewed clearly, that, in the ſteps which he had taken, he had been influenced by a motive very different from that which he pretended—That the States ſhould put him in full poſſeſſion of the authority, which the preceding governors had exerciſed; that they ſhould give him the entire command of the army; break off all communication with the Prince of Orange, and the

the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and compel them to accede to the perpetual edict; theſe were ſome of the conditions, to which if they did not agree, he acquainted them, that he was unalterably determined not to return. The States repreſented the inconſiſtency between the former of theſe demands, and the perpetual edict; and reminded him of the utter impoſſibility, under which they found themſelves, of complying with the latter, without violating their faith, which, in the pacification of Ghent, they had pledged to the maritime provinces. He ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution; and the States were equally inflexible. 1577.

Diſcovery of his deſigns.

THEY were confirmed in their purpoſe, by ſome letters writ by Don John and Eſcovedo to the King, and Antonio Perez, his ſecretary, which were intercepted in Gaſcony by the King of Navarre, and ſent by him to the Prince of Orange, who tranſmitted them to the States. In theſe letters, the neceſſity of the ſpeedy return of the Italian and Spaniſh troops was urged with the utmoſt earneſtneſs and importunity. 'The diſeaſes of the Netherlands, ſaid Don John, admit of no other cure, but lopping off the parts affected: and, to the ſame purpoſe, Eſcovedo obſerved, That fire, and the ſhedding of blood, were the only

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means by which the diſorders that prevailed could be remedied. For no man here, ſaid he, whether among the nobility or people, performs the duty that he owes either to God or the King. Opinions the moſt abominable univerſally prevail; and every man lives as he liſts without law or rule. To which he added, That if the King did not ſend the neceſſary troops and money ſoon, he was afraid that Don John, who could not endure his preſent ſituation, would quit the Netherlands, and try his fortune elſewhere.

The States get a number of towns into their poſſeſſion.

WHILE theſe letters ſerved to alienate the Flemings more than ever from Don John, they raiſed to the greateſt height their admiration of the penetration and ſagacity of the Prince of Orange, who had given them early warning of the Governor's duplicity, and whoſe predictions were now ſo remarkably fulfilled. They entered with greater ardor than ever into his views, and in conformity with his advice, they reſolved to loſe no more time in negotiating, but without delay to put the provinces into a poſture of defence, before the return of the Spaniſh forces. Whilſt their levies, and other military preparations, were going on, they laboured with great ſolicitude to perſuade the Germans to deliver up the towns in their poſſeſſion. Their ſucceſs was in ſome meaſure retarded

retarded by the Governor's intrigues with the officers; but the States having at this time greater facility than Don John, in employing either money or force, according as the one or the other was moſt likely to prove effectual, had greater influence with the ſoldiers; who not only refuſed to liſten to their officers, but put ſome of them under arreſt, and gave them up to the States, together with the towns and citadels. In this manner the States recovered Bergen-op-zoom, Tolen, Breda, Bois-le-duc, and ſeveral other places; and they had the good fortune likewiſe to defeat a body of Germans, in the Governor's intereſt, who were upon their march to ſurpriſe the citadel of Antwerp. After which, prompted partly by the apprehenſions which this attempt, though unſucceſsful, had excited, and partly by the remembrance of the many calamities which the citadels, in other places as well as Antwerp, had occaſioned to the inhabitants, they reſolved to demoliſh theſe fortreſſes; and gave orders for this purpoſe, which were executed by the people with inexpreſſible alacrity[o].

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Don John, in the mean time, endeavoured to make himelf maſter of ſome places in the neighbourhood of Namur; and he ſucceeded

[o] Meteren, p. 187. Bentivoglio, tom. ii. p. 212.

in

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in his attempts upon Marienburg and Charlemont. But, being forſaken by the Duke of Arſchot, and almoſt all the other nobility who had attended him to Namur; and perceiving that the States were much farther advanced than himſelf in their military preparations, he ſent them word that he had ſolicited the King for liberty to leave the Netherlands, and would immediately retire to Luxemburg, to wait the iſſue of his application, provided the States would agree to deſiſt from hoſtilities till the King's inſtructions ſhould arrive. But the States, ſuſpecting from their former experience that he intended nothing by this propoſal but to render them more remiſs in their preparations, replied, that before they could liſten to any terms of accommodation, he muſt deliver up the city and caſtle of Namur. To this Don John refuſed to conſent; and thus the negotiation was broken off, and all hopes of terminating the diſpute amicably were extinguiſhed[p].

The States invite the Prince of Orange to reſide at Bruſſels.

THE States, conſidering war now as unavoidable, reſolved to invite the Prince of Orange to reſide at Bruſſels; and accordingly five of their number were appointed to carry him an invitation, couched in terms ſo flattering and reſpectful, and ſo expreſſive at the ſame time

[p] Bentivoglio, p.198.

of

of their gratitude for his former ſervices, that it was impoſſible he could heſitate to comply with their requeſt. Having obtained the conſent of the States of Holland and Zealand, he went firſt to Breda and thence to Antwerp and Bruſſels. His reception in the places through which he paſſed, was ſuch as might be expected from a people, by whom he was held in the higheſt reſpect and veneration. Ardent to behold him, after an abſence of ſeveral years, during which he had undergone ſo many labours, and been expoſed to ſo many dangers in their ſervice, they poured out in multitudes, to the diſtance of ſeveral miles, to meet him. In his paſſage from Antwerp to Bruſſels, one ſide of the canal was lined by the inhabitants of the former of theſe places, and the other, by thoſe of the latter; while the banks reſounded with the joyful ſhouts of a grateful people, who ſaluted him with the glorious appellations of the Father of his country, and the Guardian of its liberty and laws. Nor were theſe demonſtrations of joy confined to the vulgar, who are always ſincere, but often precipitate and inconſtant in their applauſes; perſons of all ranks vied with each other in teſtifying their reſpect and gratitude; and immediately after his arrival, the States of Brabant and the States-General concurred in electing him Governor of the province

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His reception.

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vince of Brabant[q]; a dignity which had been hitherto beſtowed only on the Viceroys, or Governors-general, of the Netherlands.

The promiſing condition of the Netherlands.

By his wiſdom and moderation, as well as by his vigilance and induſtry, William fulfilled the moſt ſanguine expectations of his countrymen. But, notwithſtanding his addreſs and prudence, and ſkill in managing the minds of men; qualifications which he poſſeſſed in the moſt eminent degree; he could not preſerve that unanimity among the Flemings, which it was of ſo much conſequence for them in the preſent juncture to maintain. At no period had they enjoyed ſo fair a proſpect of ſecuring their liberty on a firm and permanent foundation. Beſides the advantage of having a perſon of ſo great experience and abilities to guide their counſels, the Spaniſh troops were entirely withdrawn, the King's finances were greatly exhauſted with the wars in which he had been continually engaged; almoſt all the fortified places were in the hands of the States; and the people were animated univerſally with the moſt violent abhorrence of the Spaniſh government. But the States were prevented from improving the opportunity which this fortunate concurrence of circumſtances afforded them, by a

[q] Vide Hiſt. Metallique, tom. i. p. 235.

ſpirit

ſpirit of diviſion and animoſity, which ſprung up, partly from the jealouſies of the nobility, and partly from the intemperate religious zeal and bigotry of the people.

Sources of animoſity and diſcord.

PHILIP de Croy Duke of Arſchot, the Marquis of Havrée his brother, the Count de La Lain, and ſeveral others of the Catholic nobility, had, ſince the death of Requeſens, diſtinguiſhed themſelves as ſtrenuous aſſerters of the liberties of their country. They had promoted with all their influence the pacification of Ghent, and had concurred with their countrymen in the invitation given to the Prince of Orange to reſide at Bruſſels. But when they reflected upon the extraordinary marks of attachment which William had received, and ſaw him veſted with an authority and dignity in Brabant, which only the ſovereign or his viceroys had hitherto enjoyed; above all, when they contemplated his great abilities and experience in the conduct of affairs; they foreſaw that they muſt content themſelves with acting a ſubordinate part in the government, and that the States would, in every branch of adminiſtration, be directed by the Prince of Orange, who muſt therefore reap the glory of whatever ſhould be atchieved, and, without the name of ſovereign, exerciſe a ſupreme and ſovereign authority. Stung with envy, and deſirous to conceal the motive of their conduct, they

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they began to affect an extreme anxiety at the danger to which the Catholic faith was expoſed, by the States repoſing ſuch unreſerved confidence in one who was an avowed friend of the new religion. On this pretence, which never received any colour from the Prince's conduct, they formed themſelves into a confederacy, with a deſign to counteract him. And in order to give their party conſiſtency, weight, and influence, they reſolved to invite the Archduke Matthias, brother of the Emperor, to take upon him the government of the provinces.

The Flemiſh nobles give an invitation to Matthias.

THIS reſolution they not only formed, but executed, without the knowledge or authority of the States, and they diſpatched a meſſenger to Matthias with the greateſt ſecrecy, to entreat him to leave Vienna without delay.

NOTHING could exceed the temerity of thoſe who gave this invitation, but the imprudence of Matthias in accepting it. For, beſides, that he was called only by the leaſt powerful of the two parties into which the Flemings were divided, he could not be ignorant how injurious and affronting his conduct muſt be thought by his kinſman the King of Spain. It is ſome alleviation of his folly, that he was only twenty-two years of age; and that, conſidering the numerous progeny which his father left behind him, there

there was little probability of his obtaining any settlement in Germany, ſuitable to his rank. At the time of the death of Requeſens, he had made an offer of his ſervice to the States, and he accepted greedily of the preſent invitation. His enterpriſe being of ſuch a nature that he durſt not diſcover it to the Emperor, he ſet out from Vienna in the middle of the night, with a ſmall number of attendants. No ſooner was his brother appriſed of his deſign, than meſſengers were diſpatched to bring him back, and letters ſent to the Princes whoſe ſtates he muſt paſs through, intreating them to ſtop him; but Matthias travelled faſter than the meſſengers, and, in a few days, reached the town of Lierres in Brabant. BOOK XIV. 1577. His arrival.

THE States, aſtoniſhed at the news of his arrival, and highly incenſed againſt thoſe who had invited him, complained loudly of the inſult offered to their authority; and would have inſtantly formed the reſolution of rejecting him, had they not been diſſuaded from it by the Prince of Orange. William foreſaw the advantages which might ariſe from that rivalſhip, into which Matthias had entered with his kinſman Don John, and from the ſeeds of enmity which were thereby ſown between the German and Spaniſh branches of the houſe of Auſtria. He reckoned it rather fortunate, He is admitted Governor by the States.

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that Don John had received ſo unpardonable an offence from the Catholic nobility; and he conſidered how fatal to the general intereſt of the provinces all diviſion muſt neceſſarily prove, in the preſent critical conjuncture of their affairs.

INFLUENCED by theſe conſiderations, he exhorted the States to overlook the injurious treatment which they had received, and perſuaded them to agree, not only to receive Matthias with all the reſpect due to his high rank, but even to elect him Governor, on ſuch conditions as they ſhould judge proper to require. This conduct, the moſt prudent that could have been adopted in the preſent circumſtances, furniſhed no ſort of triumph to the Duke d'Arſchot, and the other Catholic nobility. On the contrary, it mortified them exceedingly, to obſerve that Matthias owed his election not to them, but to the Prince of Orange; whoſe authority, which they intended to have controlled, was now conſiderably augmented, and more firmly eſtabliſhed than before.

Mortifications of the nobility.

SOON after this, they received a ſtill more ſenſible mortification. The Duke d'Arſchot having lately been appointed Governor of Flanders, had gone to the city of Ghent, to take

take poſſeſſion of his government. Not long after his arrival a deputation of the inhabitants having urged him with much importunity to reinſtate them in their ancient privileges, of which they had been deprived in the time of Charles V. he was heard to declare, that that ſeditious multitude, which made ſo much noiſe about their privileges, ſhould ere long be puniſhed as they deſerved, notwithſtanding their being ſupported by the Prince of Orange. This ſaying being repeated by ſome who heard it, and circulated all over the city, inflamed the minds of the people with rage and indignation. They ran to arms, ſurrounded the Governor's houſe, and threw him, and his friends and attendants, into priſon. The Prince of Orange, dreading the conſequences of ſo violent a procedure, and believing the Duke to be now ſufficiently humbled, interceded with the Ghenteſe, and procured his liberty; but no ſolicitations could induce them to releaſe his adherents. In this manner was the Duke d'Arſchot's importance in the Netherlands almoſt annihilated. Matthias perceiving this, ſaw it to be his intereſt to connect himſelf with the party of which the Prince of Orange was the head; and readily accepted the government, with a condition to which the States required his conſent, that the Prince ſhould be his Lieutenant-general in all the branches of adminiſtration.

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MATTHIAS made his joyful entry into Bruſſels in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-eight, when both he and the Prince of Orange were admitted to their reſpective offices, after taking an oath to maintain the laws, and to regulate their conduct according to the inſtructions which ſhould be given them by the States [r].

Application of the States to Philip.

DON JOHN ſent an ambaſſador to proteſt in his name againſt theſe proceedings. But the States had ſome weeks before this time declared him an enemy to the Netherlands, and paid no regard to his proteſtation. As they were perſuaded, however, that they had done nothing but what was authoriſed by the fundamental laws of the conſtitution, they wrote an account of their proceedings to the King, declaring that they ſtill held their allegiance to him inviolable; and praying, that he would confirm their election of his kinſman Matthias, as the moſt likely means of reſtoring tranquillity to the provinces. They had very little reaſon to expect that Philip would liſten to this requeſt. He looked upon their conduct in a light extremely different from that in which they themſelves regarded it; and conſidered their preſumption in rejecting the Governor whom he had appointed, and ſtill more that of nomi-

[r] Meteren, p. 196. 202.

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nating another without his conſent, as an act of the moſt audacious rebellion. The States were too well acquainted with his character, not to entertain ſome apprehenſions that ſuch might be his ſentiments; and therefore, while they omitted nothing in their power to aſſuage his reſentment, they endeavoured to ſecure themſelves againſt the effects of it, by intereſting the neighbouring powers in their behalf, and by eſtabliſhing unanimity between the religious parties into which the provinces were divided. 1578.

In order to accompliſh this laſt and moſt important object, a new treaty of union was concluded, in which, beſides confirming the pacification of Ghent, the Catholics and Proteſtants promiſed mutually to ſupport each other; and engaged, that they would join together in oppoſing all perſecution on account of religion, from whatever quarter it ſhould come [s].

The neighbouring powers were not unconcerned ſpectators of theſe tranſactions. The Emperor [t] ſaw with much anxiety, that thoſe flames which had burnt ſo long in the Netherlands, were now likely to burſt out with greater The Emperor.

[s] Meteren, p. 197.

[t] Rodolph II.

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violence than ever. But having been educated at the court of Madrid under Philip, with whom he wiſhed to live on amicable terms, he had ſhewn himſelf exceedingly diſpleaſed with the conduct of Matthias; had given Philip entire ſatisfaction with regard to his own intentions; and had reſolved to take no other part in the diſſenſions of the Netherlands, but that of employing his interceſſion and advice. He did not however oppoſe the levies which the Count Palatine was making for the ſervice of the States, either becauſe he knew that his prohibition would not have been regarded, or becauſe he deſired to preſerve a ſtrict neutrality between the contending parties.

Henry III. of France.

HENRY III. of France was too much occupied in his own dominions, to have leiſure to enter deeply into the affairs of the Netherlands. For many ages, France had ſeen no King of whoſe reign the people entertained more ſanguine expectations. Having, in his early youth, been appointed Commander in Chief by his brother Charles, he had given ſignal proof of uncommon abilities. The French had flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing their kingdom reſtored by him to its ancient ſplendor; his fame was univerſally diffuſed, and the Poliſh nobility had, with general applauſe, conferred upon him their elective crown. But when,

when, upon his brother's death, he left Poland, and ſucceeded to the crown of France, it is inconceivable how great a change he ſeemed to have undergone. Irreſolute, inconſtant, indolent, and voluptuous, with a mixture of the moſt ridiculous ſuperſtition, he loſt the confidence of the Catholics as well as Proteſtants, whom he favoured and betrayed by turns. The unſteady and unſkilful hand, with which he held the reins of government, added daily new force to the virulence of faction, till every member of the ſtate, and almoſt every individual in the kingdom, was infected. The Queen-mother employed all her art and influence to ſupport his authority, but could not reſtrain her younger ſon, the Duke of Alençon, now Duke of Anjou, from putting himſelf at the head, ſometimes of one party, and ſometimes of another, in oppoſition to the King. To this Prince, who was now the preſumptive heir of the crown, the Flemings addreſſed themſelves, after having in vain applied to the King himſelf for protection. Anjou liſtened with much pleaſure to their application; and having conceived hopes of obtaining the ſovereignty of the provinces, he made them the moſt flattering promiſes of aſſiſtance. Henry, far from oppoſing the Duke's deſigns, conſidered his leaving France as the moſt fortunate event that could happen; ſince

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The States apply for aid to the Duke of Anjou.

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he would be thereby delivered from a great number of reſtleſs intriguing ſpirits, by whom the tranquillity of his kingdom had been diſturbed. But as he declined on this occaſion to aſſiſt his brother in levying forces, partly from inability, and partly from the dread of embroiling himſelf with Philip, Anjou was not in a condition, till ſome time after the preſent period, to fulfil his engagements.

They receive aſſiſtance from Elizabeth.

THE Flemings mean-while received the moſt ſeaſonable aſſiſtance from the Queen of England. Don John had, ſome months before, endeavoured to prepoſſeſs Elizabeth in *his* favour; by repreſenting, that the diſturbances in the Netherlands were entirely owing to the Prince of Orange and his adherents, who had broken the pacification of Ghent, and by their intrigues prevailed upon the States to violate the perpetual edict. Elizabeth pretended to give credit to this repreſentation, and ordered her ambaſſador to reproach the States with their infidelity, and even to threaten them with her reſentment, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to adhere to their engagements. Thus far this artful Princeſs went, in order to perſuade Philip, that ſhe ſeriouſly deſired his ſubjects in the Netherlands to maintain their allegiance. But in reality ſhe wiſhed for nothing leſs. In a political light (that light

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in which the conduct of Elizabeth ought almoſt always to be conſidered) nothing could be more deſirable to her, than that the troubles of the Low Countries ſhould continue; and, if either of the two contending parties ſhould finally prevail, that victory ſhould fall rather on the ſide of the people, than of the King. But when ſhe conſidered the inequality of the diſpute between him and the Flemings, ſhe dreaded that the latter, if left to themſelves, muſt ſoon be compelled, either to relinquiſh their pretenſions, or to throw themſelves for protection into the arms of France. She had therefore reſolved to watch carefully over their conduct, and to afford them, from time to time, ſuch aſſiſtance as their circumſtances ſhould require. She lent a favourable ear to the defence which was made by the Prince of Orange and the States againſt Don John's accuſations; and ſhe admitted of their juſtification the more willingly, as in the repreſentation given her of Don John's conduct on this occaſion, ſhe found reaſon to believe that his intenſions were no leſs hoſtile with regard to herſelf, than with reſpect to the States and the Prince of Orange. For William had taken particular care to inform her of ſome intercepted letters of Don John's, from which it appeared, that he entertained a ſecret correſpondence with the Queen of Scots; that he had formed a plan, to which the Pope was privy, for ſetting that Prin-

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ceſs

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ceſs at liberty; and that he was incited to attempt this, not only by the deſire of diſtreſſing Elizabeth, but likewiſe by the wild ambition of marrying the Scottiſh Queen, and attaining, through her, poſſeſſion of the Britiſh crowns.

AFTER this diſcovery, Elizabeth reſolved no longer to keep any meaſures with Don John; but to exert herſelf with vigour in oppoſing his re-admiſſion into the government of the Netherlands. With this intention ſhe gave the moſt gracious reception to the Marquis d'Havrée the ambaſſador of the States, and entered readily into a treaty by which ſhe engaged to furniſh them with an immediate ſupply, both of money and troops; upon condition, that the commander of theſe troops ſhould be admitted into the council of ſtate; and that during the continuance of the war, no ſtep ſhould be taken, nor any alliance formed, without her conſent[u].

ELIZABETH had no ſooner ſubſcribed this treaty, than being ſtill deſirous to avoid an open breach with Philip, ſhe diſpatched an ambaſſador[w] to Madrid, to repreſent to him, that in her late tranſaction with the States, it was far

[u] Meteren, p. 197. Bentivoglio, p. 202. Camden, anno 1577, &c.

[w] Thomas Wilkes, clerk of the Council.

from

from her intention to encourage them to withdraw their allegiance; that, on the contrary, ſhe had employed the only means likely to prove effectual to prevent them from caſting themſelves in deſpair into the hands of ſome other power. She was deeply intereſted, ſhe acknowledged, in ſaving her neighbours from oppreſſion; eſpecially the Flemings, with whom the commercial intereſts of her ſubjects had long been, and ſtill were ſo cloſely connected. This ſhe hoped would plead her excuſe for exhorting him to ſubſtitute in the room of his brother, a Governor in whom the people could repoſe greater truſt and confidence; and with whom ſhe herſelf could maintain a more friendly intercourſe than ſhe could ever hold with Don John, after having diſcovered his deſign to invade her dominions. She concluded with intreating him to redreſs the grievances of his Flemiſh ſubjects; offering to mediate between him and them, if her mediation could be of uſe; and declaring, that if they ſhould refuſe to fulfil their late engagements, or attempt to make any innovation contrary to the pacification of Ghent, ſhe would aſſiſt him in reducing them to obedience by force of arms[x].

[x] Carte, book xviii. Camden.

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ELIZABETH could not mean any thing by this embaſſy, but the fulfilling of an empty ceremonial, which was received by Philip, and performed by her, with equal inſincerity. She did not wait for a return to her embaſſy, but proceeded inſtantly to carry into execution her treaty with the States. Both the troops and money which ſhe engaged to furniſh, were immediately ſent over; and the latter was remitted by the States to Prince Caſimire, to enable him to complete his levies.

Imprudent delays of the States.

THE States had collected a conſiderable body of forces, which they ſtationed in the neigbourhood of Namur; and if they had followed the counſel of the Prince of Orange, who exhorted them to lay ſiege to that important fortreſs, they might have made themſelves maſters of it, and prevented the return of the Spaniſh troops. But many among them being ſtill unſhaken in their allegiance to the King, as well as in their attachment to the popiſh faith; nothing but their remembrance of the cruelties of Alva, and the late enormities of the Spaniards, could have induced them to concur in the meaſures which the majority had adopted. Theſe men fondly imagined, that Philip would be moved with their calamities, and perſuaded to comply with their requeſts. Being for this reaſon unwilling to begin

begin hoſtilities, they urged ſtrongly the expediency of a defenſive war: and thus the army was ſuffered, for ſeveral months, to remain inactive, and time imprudently given for the arrival of the Italian and Spaniſh troops[y]. 1578.

The return of the Spaniſh troops.

ALTHOUGH Philip did not entirely approve of his brother's conduct, and deſired to have obtained his ends by negotiation and artifice; yet having failed in this way, he reſolved, without heſitation, to employ force; and he had accordingly ſent orders to Alexander Farneſe, the Prince of Parma, to lead back the troops from Italy, to the Netherlands, without delay. On their arrival at Namur, being joined by other troops, which Don John had levied in the neighbouring provinces, they compoſed an army of fifteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; while that of the States amounted only to ten thouſand foot and one thouſand five hundred horſe; and was no leſs inferior to the enemy in diſcipline than in number. The States now ſaw their folly in having neglected to make themſelves maſters of Namur, as an entrance had thereby been ſecured for the Spaniards into the centre of the Netherlands.

[y] Meteren, book viii. ab initio.

THE

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THE ſituation in which Don John found himſelf at this time, was much more ſuitable to the talents which he poſſeſſed, than thoſe negotiations and treaties in which he had been hitherto engaged. He had longed with extreme impatience for the arrival of the forces, and ardently deſired to be revenged upon the States for the injurious treatment which he imagined he had received. Having got information that their army, commanded by the Sieur de Goignies, had left their camp in the neighbourhood of Namur, and were retiring towards Bruſſels, he reſolved to attack them on their march. With this intention he ſent his cavalry before, under the Prince of Parma, and followed them himſelf, as quickly as poſſible, with the foot. Farneſe executed the truſt committed to him with great valour. At the head of his battalion, he attacked the Flemiſh cavalry with uncommon fury; and though they gave him a ſpirited reception, he ſoon compelled them to retire. In the mean time Don John came forward with a choſen body of infantry, and afforded him ſuch a powerful ſupport, as enabled him to drive the enemy's horſe before him, till he entered along with them into the ranks of their main army. The Flemings believing the whole Spaniſh forces to be at hand, and being utterly unprepared for ſo ſudden an attack, were ſoon

The battle of Gembloux.

thrown into confuſion and diſperſed. About three thouſand were killed, and a great number, with the Commander in Chief, were taken priſoners. The loſs on the ſide of the conquerors was inconſiderable. 1578. January 31.

After this victory, Don John reduced Gemblours, Louvain, Sichem, Nivelle, and ſeveral other places, both in Brabant and Hainault. He deſired likewiſe to have laid ſiege to Bruſſels; but his council of war were of opinion, that his ſtrength was not adequate to ſo great an enterpriſe, and thought it more expedient to aim at eaſier conqueſts, till his army ſhould be reinforced.

Amſterdam accedes to the confederacy. February 8.

The States in the mean time received an abundant compenſation for their loſſes in the ſouthern provinces, by the acquiſition of Amſterdam. To this wealthy city, which even then was the greateſt in the northern provinces, the Duke of Alva had, as mentioned above, given the moſt particular attention; having expelled the Proteſtants, and put the government entirely into the hands of rigid Catholics. Theſe men, ſupported by a numerous garriſon, had baffled all the attempts which had been made by the States of Holland to reduce them. But being now hemmed in by their countrymen both by ſea and land, and their trade almoſt ruined, they at laſt conſented

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ſented to accede to the pacification of Ghent, and agreed to diſband the popiſh garriſon, to recal the Proteſtant exiles, and to allow them to hold their religious aſſemblies without the city. It was not long before they repented of theſe conceſſions. The Proteſtants being inflamed with zeal for their religion; impatient under the reſtraints which in the late agreement had been laid upon them, fired with reſentment for former injuries, and ſuſpicious that the Catholics were again meditating ſchemes for their expulſion, they flew to arms; and having ſuppreſſed the exerciſe of the popiſh faith, they drove all the prieſts and others whom they ſuſpected of malignant deſigns, out of the city[z].

Philip's anſwer to the States.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, John de Noircarmes, Baron de Selles, arrived from Spain, with Philip's anſwer to the application which the States had made to him ſome months before. It was ſuch as they had reaſon to expect, and contained an abſolute denial of their requeſts, with regard to the removal of Don John, and the ratification of the election of Matthias.

The States proſecute the war.

Convinced by this denial, of the folly of thoſe hopes which they had entertained, that

[z] Van Meteren, p. 207.

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the King would yield to their intreaties, and ſenſible that they had ſuffered conſiderable loſs, from that want of diſpatch and ſecreſy which is incident to the procedure of a numerous aſſembly; they enlarged the powers of Matthias and the Prince of Orange, and inveſted them, and the Council of State, with authority to conduct the operations of the war, without having recourſe on every occaſion to the Aſſembly of the States. BOOK XIV. 1578.

No time after this was unneceſſarily loſt. The troops which had been diſperſed at Gemblours were collected, and of theſe, and the new levies, an army was compoſed, amounting to eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, partly Flemings, and partly Scots and Engliſh. This army was ſtationed in the neighbourhood of Lierres, in the centre of Brabant, under the command of the Count de Boſſut. Don John's army, after he had put garriſons into the towns which he had taken, was ſtill ſuperior in number; and therefore he reſolved to march towards Boſſut, before the auxiliaries, which the States expected from France and Germany, ſhould arrive. But he ſoon found that he had now to contend both with troops and a General much ſuperior to thoſe whom he had encountered at Gemblours. Boſſut, from a ſenſe of the inferiority of his forces, had pitched his camp near the village Battle of Rimenant.

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of Rimenant, in a ſituation extremely advantageous for preventing the enemy from penetrating further into the provinces. On the one ſide it was defended by the Demer, and on the other by a wood; and was fortified both before and behind with ſtrong intrenchments. Notwithſtanding this, Don John reſolved to attack it, unleſs he could provoke the Count to quit his lines, and give him battle. The Prince of Parma, who from his early youth was no leſs wiſe than brave, remonſtrated againſt this reſolution as being dangerous and deſperate. But Don John, being confirmed in his purpoſe by the other officers, gave orders for his army to advance, after having ſent before a ſelect body of troops, to attack an important poſt without the camp, which was guarded by ſome Engliſh and Scotch forces, under Colonel Norris. Among the aſſailants was Don Alphonſo Martinez de Leyva, at the head of a company of two hundred men, whom he maintained at his own expence, and who were all either gentlemen, or ſoldiers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in former wars. Theſe men attacked the Britiſh troops with uncommon fury. After a ſhort reſiſtance, the latter began to retreat, but in good order, and with their faces turned towards the enemy. The Spaniards, to ſecond whom Don John had ſent ſeveral battalions of freſh troops, not ſuſpecting any artifice, and believing the enemy to be intimidated, followed

The Prince of Parma.

lowed them with much precipitation, till they had paſſed a narrow defile within reach of the artillery of the Flemiſh camp. Norris then returned to the charge, and the combat was renewed with greater fury than ever. He was reinforced with troops ſent him from the camp, and both parties being nearly equal, ſeemed determined to die or conquer. This gallant Engliſhman animated his army by his own example, and had three horſes killed under him. The Scots, impatient of the heat, fought in their ſhirts, and aſtoniſhed the enemy with the ſingularity of their appearance. In the mean time, a body of troops, which had been placed in ambuſh, attacked the Spaniards in flank, and Boſſut continued to fire upon them inceſſantly with his artillery. They muſt all have periſhed, had not the Prince of Parma obtained liberty from Don John to advance at the head of the cavalry to their relief. By his ſuperior prudence, he would have prevented this inconſiderate enterpriſe; and now, by his prudence and bravery united, he ſaved the troops from thoſe fatal conſequences, to which, through their own and the General's confidence, they had been expoſed. About nine hundred men, however, fell on the field of battle, and a conſiderable number were taken priſoners [a].

The Spaniards repulſed by the Engliſh.

Auguſt 1ſt.

[a] Bentivoglio, book x. Strabo, l. iii. Meteren, p. 225. Thuanus, lib. lxvi. ſect. xii.

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DON JOHN having thus failed in his attempt, and being ſenſible that he could not, with his preſent army, keep the field againſt the numerous forces that were ready to pour in upon him from France and Germany, retreated, with the reſolution of acting for the future on the defenſive only, and pitched his camp under the fortifications of Namur.

Treaty of the States with Anjou.

THE States concluded about this time their treaty with the Duke of Anjou, which conſiſted of the following articles:—That under the title of Protector of the Netherlands, the Duke ſhould furniſh, at his own expence, ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: that all the conqueſts which he ſhould make on the Flanders ſide of the Maeſe, ſhould belong to the States; and thoſe on the other ſide to himſelf: that, for the accommodation of his troops, Landrecy, and Queſnoy in Hainault, and Bapaume in Artois, ſhould be put in his poſſeſſion: that the States ſhould not enter into any agreement with Don John, without the Duke's conſent; and that in caſe they ſhould hereafter think proper to elect another ſovereign, they ſhould make choice of the Duke; but that in the mean time the government ſhould remain entire in the hands of the States.

Deſigns of the States.

AGREEABLY to the firſt article of this treaty, Anjou had aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops

troops in the neighbourhood of Mons, to which place the States ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to intreat that he would quicken his march into the interior provinces. They intended, that their own army ſhould unite with his, and that of Caſimire, and that all the three armies ſhould act in concert with one another, in expelling Don John, before he ſhould receive a reinforcement from Spain or Italy. Nor was it without apparent reaſon that they entertained the hopes of accompliſhing this deſign. Prince Caſimire had paſſed the Rhine and the Maeſe, and advanced as far as the town of Dieſt, in Brabant. His army, when joined with that of the States, amounted nearly to forty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, and was greatly ſuperior to any which Don John could muſter to oppoſe it. BOOK XIV. 1578. Their numerous army.

But a variety of cauſes concurred in rendering almoſt uſeleſs theſe mighty preparations; and a ſpirit of diviſion aroſe, by which the people in the more fertile provinces loſt for ever that liberty for which they had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended, at the very time when it was moſt in their power to ſecure it on a firm and permanent foundation. For although, according to the teſtimony of the Catholic, as well as the Proteſtant hiſtorians, nothing could exceed the prudence and moderation with which Its operations rendered ineffectual.

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the Prince of Orange conducted the affairs of government, it ſoon appeared, that no human wiſdom was ſufficient to preſerve harmony and concord, where there were ſo many grounds of jealouſy and diſcontent. Of this diſcontent and jealouſy, religious bigotry was the principal, but not the only cauſe. Ambition and intereſt joined their influence to that of religion, and not only divided the people themſelves into factions, the moſt inveterate and hoſtile, but created ſuſpicion and diſcord between them and the foreign powers which they had called to their aſſiſtance.

THE Queen of England had heard, with great uneaſineſs, of the late treaty between the States and the Duke of Anjou. She knew not, at this time, how far Henry was concerned in his brother's enterpriſe, nor what ſchemes of conqueſt theſe two Princes might have formed. She conſidered what great advantages their neighbourhood afforded them for the execution of theſe ſchemes; and foreſaw the prejudice which might accrue to the Engliſh nation, if the Netherlands were to fall under ſubjection to the crown of France. In order to prevent this, and counterbalance the power and influence of Anjou, ſhe had made ſuch ample remittances of money to Prince Caſimire, as had enabled him to augment the

number of his army, which conſiſted wholly of Proteſtants, conſiderably above what the States had either expected or deſired. This alarmed the jealouſy of all the Catholics in the Low Countries, who dreaded the approach of ſo great an army of Reformers, and ſuſpected that Caſimire, in concert with Elizabeth, had conceived the deſign of extirpating the Popiſh faith. They did not conceal their apprehenſions. Even the Prince of Orange, and other moderate Proteſtants, joined in remonſtrating with Caſimire, on the neceſſity of his diſmiſſing a part of his forces. But this remonſtrance ſerved only to alienate him from the Prince of Orange and the council, and to render him leſs attentive to their inſtructions with regard to the conduct of the war. He was likewiſe highly offended with the preference which the States had given to the Count of Boſſut, by appointing him Commander in Chief of the army; and he made them feel his reſentment, by the ſlowneſs of all his military operations, and his continual demands of ſupplies for the payment of his troops[b].

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Intemperate zeal and ambition of the Proteſtants.

But the intemperate zeal and ambition of the Proteſtants were productive of ſtill more pernicious effects. Not ſatisfied with the ſecu-

[b] Reidanus, p. 25, 26.

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rity from perſecution which they had enjoyed ſince the pacification of Ghent, they took courage from the great number of Proteſtants in the army, and petitioned Matthias and the States, to be allowed to hold their religious aſſemblies openly in churches, and to be admitted on the ſame footing with the Catholics, to the ſeveral offices of government. They ought certainly to have remained ſilent, as they had done hitherto, till the common enemy had been expelled, and the public tranquillity eſtabliſhed. Yet their conduct admits of ſome apology: their party had greater influence now than it was likely to poſſeſs, if the Catholics were delivered from their dread of the Spaniards, and they could not foreſee thoſe fatal conſequences with which their application was afterwards attended.

But whatever judgment may be formed of their diſcretion, the States thought it neceſſary, leſt the army ſhould have proved refractory, to comply with their requeſts. The pacification of Ghent required that religion ſhould remain on the ſame footing on which it ſtood at the time of that treaty, till the States of all the provinces ſhould be aſſembled; yet the States, now partially aſſembled, conſented, not only that the Proteſtants ſhould have acceſs to all public offices, but likewiſe that they ſhould have

have churches allowed to them in every place where a hundred families reſided; upon this condition, that in Holland and Zealand the ſame indulgence ſhould be granted to the Catholic inhabitants. To this decree they gave the name of the Peace of Religion; and each of the provinces was left at liberty to accept or reject it, as they ſhould judge expedient. BOOK XIV. 1578.

The unhappy conſequences.

In ſome cities it proved a ſalutary remedy for the diſorders with which they were diſtracted; but, in many others, it added malignity to that poiſon, which raged in the minds of the more violent religioniſts, and was the ſource of the moſt pernicious animoſity and diſcord. It gave no contentment to the zealots of either party, but contributed to inflame them more than ever againſt each other, by adding freſh materials to that inveterate jealouſy and rancour which their bigotry inſpired, but which had been laid aſleep for ſome time paſt, by their apprehenſions of the common danger. The Catholics every where, but in a few cities of Flanders and Brabant, oppoſed the execution of this decree; and the Reformers derived little advantage from it; except in thoſe places where they overpowered their antagoniſts by ſuperior numbers. In the provinces of Artois and Hainault, where the Reformation had never made any conſiderable progreſs, the people

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people rejected the decree with the moſt determined obſtinacy, and refuſed to allow the exerciſe of any other religion but the Catholic within their territories; while the people of Ghent and other places, in which the majority were Proteſtants, actuated by the ſame intolerant and bigoted ſpirit, expelled the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, ſeized their effects, and ſpoiled the churches of their ornaments.

Diſcord between the Walloons and Flemings.

BETWEEN the people of Ghent and the Walloons[c] a particular ground of enmity had ſubſiſted, ever ſince the former had caſt the Duke D'Arſchot and his attendants into priſon. For moſt of theſe were perſons of rank in the Walloon provinces; and the Ghenteſe had not only rejected every ſolicitation in their behalf, but had even treated them with ſeverity during their confinement. The Walloons were, for this reaſon, the more readily incenſed by the accounts which they received of the late enormities committed againſt the Catholics, which they juſtly regarded as a violation, on the part of the Proteſtants, of their late engagements. Forgetful therefore of the danger which threatened them, and liſtening only to the voice of indignation and reſentment, they began to ſe-

[c] The natives of Artois, Hainault, and the other ſouthern provinces.

parate

parate themſelves from the other provinces, and refuſed to contribute their ſhare of the money neceſſary for the payment of the troops. "We took arms," ſaid they, "to vindicate our liberty; but what will it avail us to be delivered from the Spaniſh yoke, if we muſt ſubmit to a yoke no leſs galling and intolerable, impoſed upon us by our countrymen; who, under the pretext of zeal againſt the tyranny of the Spaniards, ſhew now that their only deſign has been to tyrannize over us themſelves?" The other provinces repreſented to them the miſchievous conſequences with which their conduct muſt be attended, and accompanied their repreſentations with prayers and threats; but the Walloons remained inflexible, and ſoon afterwards they gave a ſtriking proof of their hoſtile diſpoſition, by refuſing to deliver the towns of Landrecy, Queſnois, and Bapaume, to the Duke of Anjou, in conformity to the treaty above recorded. Not ſatisfied with this, they began to prepare openly for war, and employed the contributions, which had been raiſed for paying the army of the States, in levying forces againſt the Flemings. The Flemings quickly armed themſelves in their defence, and ſeveral rencounters happened between the Walloons and them, that were equally pernicious to both.

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PRINCE

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PRINCE Caſimire's troops and thoſe of the States had been for ſome time paſt united, and Don John was not poſſeſſed of a force ſufficient to oppoſe them; but the factious and refractory ſpirit of the Walloons and Flemings had diffuſed itſelf into almoſt every part of the Netherlands, except the provinces of Holland and Zealand. Many cities withheld their contributions, and the army was extremely ill provided with every thing neceſſary to render the operations of the campaign effectual. Boſſut's principal object was to compel the enemy to a general engagement; and for this purpoſe, after taking two or three towns of little conſequence, he led his troops within view of the camp in which Don John had entrenched himſelf, under the fortifications of Namur. With an army ſo much ſuperior in number to the enemy, the Count might have forced the entrenchments; but being neither furniſhed with pioneers, cannon, or a ſufficient quantity of ammunition, and finding Don John unalterably determined to keep within his camp, he was obliged to retire. His troops, in the mean time, were highly diſcontented, on account of their want of pay. His diſcipline was unavoidably relaxed. The country was oppreſſed and plundered. Caſimire accepted of an invitation from the Ghenteſe, to aſſiſt them with a part of his forces againſt the Walloons. It became dangerous

The effects of that diſcord.

dangerous to keep the remainder of the army any longer in the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh camp, and it was ſoon afterwards found impracticable to ſupport it. A part of the troops therefore was diſbanded, and the reſt were put into garriſon in the fortified towns. 1578.

THE Duke of Anjou's army was not better provided with the means of ſubſiſtence than that of the States, and its operations were equally inſignificant. Conſcious of his inability to fulfil his engagement, Anjou graſped at thoſe pretexts for eluding them, which the conduct of Caſimire, and that of the Walloons, afforded him. He complained bitterly of the treatment which he received from the latter, who not only refuſed him admittance into the towns which the States had promiſed for the accommodation of his troops, but ſhewed themſelves no leſs unwilling to furniſh him with proviſions, than if he had come to invade, and not to protect and defend them. He ſeems likewiſe to have ſuſpected, and not without ſome reaſon, that Caſimire had formed ſome private deſigns, inconſiſtent with that eſtabliſhment which he himſelf had in view in the ſouthern provinces; and that he had carried his troops to the aſſiſtance of the people of Ghent, in order to pave the way for executing thoſe deſigns. He therefore refuſed to

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to join his army with that of Boſſut, unleſs Caſimire ſhould return to it; and when Matthias and the Prince of Orange failed in their endeavours to prevail on Caſimire (to whom the Ghenteſe had advanced a conſiderable ſum of money, to induce him to remain with them), Anjou broke up his camp, and ſuffered a part of his army to go over to the Baron de Montigny, who was Commander in Chief at that time of the forces of the Walloons[d].

Concluſion of the campaign.

SUCH was the concluſion of this campaign, and ſuch the iſſue of all the mighty preparations which the States had made for a vigorous proſecution of the war. The people themſelves, inſtead of uniting their efforts againſt the common enemy, wage war with one another, in violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements, into which they had entered only a few months before; and the Princes, who had undertaken to deliver the Flemings from the Spaniſh yoke, inliſt themſelves, in oppoſition to each other, under the banners of thoſe inveterate factions, which threaten this unhappy people with deſtruction.

CASIMIRE went over to England to juſtify his conduct to Elizabeth, and Anjou ſent an

[d] Meteren, p. 233. Grotius, p. 60.

ambaſ-

ambaſſador to the States to make an apology for *his*, by repreſenting, that his troops had joined thoſe of Montigny without his conſent; but that the States had no reaſon to dread the conſequences of that ſtep, ſince the Ghenteſe would be thereby more eaſily reſtrained from their exceſſes. The States, thinking it prudent to diſſemble their reſentment, admitted of his apology; and, that they might ſtill remain on friendly terms with him, they aſſured his ambaſſadors, that they had a juſt ſenſe of gratitude for the efforts which the Duke had made in their behalf; that, as ſoon as poſſible, they would refund his expences; and that, if they ſhould ever find it neceſſary to elect another Prince, in the place of the King of Spain, they would make him an offer of the ſovereignty.

1578.

Death of Don John of Auſtria.

DURING the courſe of the tranſactions that have been related, Don John had kept his troops within their camp at Namur. They might now have left it without danger; but Don John had been ſeized, ſome weeks before, with a violent illneſs, which cut him off before he had reached the thirtieth year of his age. His death was by ſome aſcribed to poiſon; but, according to others, it was owing partly to diſeaſe, and partly to that chagrin which he conceived from the negligence with which his repeated applications for money and troops were

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were treated by the Spaniſh miniſters. Fond to exceſs of military glory, and conſcious of talents which would probably have enſured ſucceſs, he lamented bitterly the neceſſity which the weakneſs of his army impoſed upon him, of remaining ſo long inactive, and ſolicited his brother for a reinforcement with the moſt earneſt importunity. Nor was it only becauſe Philip was averſe to a vigorous proſecution of the war, that he deferred complying with his requeſt. After that renown, which Don John acquired in the battle of Lepanto, his conduct, as above related, contained ſo clear a diſcovery of his views, as could not but alarm the ſuſpicious temper of the King, who thenceforth kept a watchful eye upon all his brother's moſt ſecret motions; and when he ſent him to the Netherlands, reſolved never to intruſt him with ſuch a numerous army as might enable him to execute any ambitious deſign. Philip's ſuſpicions, during his brother's reſidence in the Low Countries, were kept perpetually awake, by reports of his having formed a deſign of marrying the Queen of Scots. To theſe reports Philip gave credit, perhaps too eaſily. By *his* orders, Don John's ſecretary Eſcovedo, who had fomented his maſter's ambition, was privately put to death. It was believed by many, that he iſſued the like orders with regard to his brother, and that this young

young heroic Prince died of poiſon, given him by certain popiſh eccleſiaſtics, inſtigated by the Court of Spain. But whatever ground there was for this perſuaſion, there is little room to doubt that, from jealouſy of his brother, more than any other cauſe, Philip withheld the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on the war. And to this circumſtance the troops of the States were indebted for their preſervation from that ruin, to which their diviſions had expoſed them [d].

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[d] Meteren, p. 234. Grotius, &c.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

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DON JOHN having on his death-bed appointed the Prince of Parma to ſucceed him, his choice was ſoon afterwards approved, and ratified by the King.

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1578.

The Prince of Parma Governor.

THIS young Prince had, on many occaſions ſince his arrival in the Netherlands, given proof of conſummate prudence, and the moſt intrepid valour. Temperate, vigilant, and indefatigable, he could deſcend to the moſt minute detail in all military operations, and was always the firſt to expoſe himſelf to toil and danger, and the laſt to retire. Pliant in

His character.

BOOK XV. 1579.

his manners, and inſinuating in his addreſs; he could ſpeak moſt of the European languages, and accommodate himſelf to the ſoldiers of all the different nations of which the army was compoſed. He poſſeſſed a vigour of bodily conſtitution equal to that of his mind, joined with an elevated martial air and aſpect, which ſerved, in time of battle, to fill the enemy with terror, and to inſpire his own troops with courage and confidence of ſucceſs.

He had no ſooner performed the laſt offices of his friend and kinſman, than he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to fulfil the duties of that important ſtation to which he was now advanced. While the army of the States remained in the field, he was obliged, through the ſmallneſs of his numbers, to follow the ſame plan which his predeceſſor had purſued, and to keep his little army ſtrongly fortified within their camp; but when, from the cauſes above explained, not only the army of the States, but likewiſe the Germans and French under Caſimire and Anjou, were all either diſbanded, or put into winter-quarters, Farneſe, conſidering this as the proper ſeaſon for action, reſolved to undertake the ſiege of ſome important place, by the acquiſition of which he might increaſe his reſources for carrying on the war.

He

HE heſitated for ſome time, whether he ſhould enter firſt upon the ſiege of Maeſtricht, or that of Antwerp. The benefit which he would have derived from the poſſeſſion of the latter of theſe places, was greater than any which could ariſe from that of the former; as Antwerp was the principal ſeat of wealth and commerce in the Netherlands, and was ſituated in the moſt advantageous manner for proſecuting the conqueſt of the maritime provinces; but having weighed attentively the difficulties to be ſurmounted in the ſiege of a place of ſo great extent and ſtrength as Antwerp, he wiſely reſolved to begin with the ſiege of Maeſtricht, in which he could engage with fewer forces, and a greater probability of ſucceſs [a]. 1579

IN order to conceal his deſign from the States, he directed his march towards Antwerp, and had a ſharp rencounter with a body of French and Britiſh forces, which were ſent out to obſtruct his approach. Theſe he forced to retire under the fortifications of the city; immediately after which he turned back ſuddenly, and inveſted Maeſtricht, before the States had time to furniſh that town with the neceſſary ſupplies of ſtores and proviſions.

[a] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. i.

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THE inhabitants were not numerous in proportion to the extent of the place[b]; but it was ſtrongly fortified, and the want of numbers was abundantly ſupplied by the martial ſpirit of the people, who, being expoſed by their ſituation to frequent invaſions from foreign enemies, were well accuſtomed to the uſe of arms. About fifteen hundred of them were enrolled; and by theſe, and a thouſand regular troops, together with two thouſand of the country people, who ſerved as pioneers, Maeſtricht was defended for almoſt four months, againſt an army of fifteen thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, the beſt diſciplined and braveſt troops in Europe, whoſe operations were directed by the greateſt military genius of the age. Amongſt the beſieged there were two perſons, Scwartzenbourg de Herle, a Fleming, and Tappin, a Frenchman, who conducted the defence with a degree of wiſdom and intrepidity that excited univerſal admiration and applauſe.

He lays ſiege to Maeſtricht.

THE Prince of Parma, having arrived before the town in the beginning of March, ſent Moudragone, with a part of the army, to the eaſt ſide of the river, to inveſt the town of Vich; whilſt he himſelf remained on the other

Conduct of the ſeige.

[b] It is five Italian miles in circumference.

ſide,

ſide, where he intended to make his principal attack. His firſt object was to prevent the States from introducing any ſupplies or reinforcements. With this view, he ſhut up the Maeſe with two bridges of boats, one above and the other below the town, and drew quite round his camp, on both ſides of the river, ſtrong lines of circumvallation. Immediately after taking this precaution, he began to make his approach to the walls by trenches. The garriſon had the courage to make ſeveral ſallies, by which his operations were retarded. At length, however, when by perſeverance, and the power of ſuperior numbers, his trenches were ſufficiently advanced, he planted two batteries, one againſt the gate of Tongres, and the other againſt the curtain, between the gate of Hoxter and that of the Croſs. While the batteries were played off with great ſucceſs, the Royaliſts puſhed forward the trenches, and were ready to enter into the ditch. The breach at the gate of Tongres was the firſt made practicable, and Farneſe reſolved to aſſault it with a ſelect body of troops, drawn from the ſeveral nations of which his army was compoſed. By thus mingling them together, he inflamed their ardour and emulation; but they met with equal ardour on the part of their opponents, and, after an obſtinate and bloody conflict, were obliged to retire.

1579.

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1579.

Brave defence of Maeſtricht.

THE Prince, believing that this firſt attempt had failed through the ſmallneſs of the breach, renewed the fire of his batteries with redoubled fury, and prepared for a ſecond attack. In order to weaken the garriſon by dividing it, he reſolved to make an aſſault at each of the two breaches at the ſame time. His troops advanced in the face of the enemy's cannon, with the moſt undaunted intrepidity. The beſieged ſtood undiſmayed till they approached, and nothing could exceed the fury with which both parties began the combat. Their fire-arms ſoon ceaſed to be of uſe to them; for they came immediately to cloſe fight in which they could employ only their pikes and ſwords. In one of the breaches De Herle, and in the other Tappin, gave the moſt ſplendid proofs of capacity and valour. The aſſailants, enraged at meeting with ſuch obſtinate reſiſtance from an enemy ſo much inferior in number, exerted their utmoſt vigour to overpower them. The action was furious and deſperate. The ruins of the wall, and the ground on both ſides, were ſtrewed with the dead and dying. Stones hurled down from the bulwarks, and artificial fires, which the beſieged launched among the aſſailants, increaſed the confuſion. Thoſe fires happened to lay hold of the barrels of gunpowder, which ſtood near for the uſe of the combatants. The exploſion was terrible, and many on both ſides

periſhed by this fatal accident. The air reſounded with cries, and ſhrieks, and groans. The earth was covered with mangled carcaſes; yet thoſe who ſurvived ſtill maintained their ground with the ſame unconquerable obſtinacy as before, and from the horrid ſcene which lay around them, ſeemed only to derive freſh rage and fury. The Prince of Parma gave orders at laſt, with much reluctance, for ſounding a retreat. The reſolution and fortitude of the beſieged, he perceived, were not to be overcome. Even if he could have mounted the breach, and kept poſſeſſion of it, this would not have availed him, as other fortifications had been raiſed within which rendered the town almoſt as impregnable as before.

Upon reviewing his troops, the Prince found that many of his beſt officers had fallen, and that the regiments of Spaniſh veterans were extremely diminiſhed. He ſoon completed his numbers, by making draughts from the garriſons of the towns in his poſſeſſion. But when he reflected on the character of the beſieged, he perceived the neceſſity of laying aſide all thoughts of taking the town by ſtorm, and reſolved to content himſelf with the ſlower method of undermining the fortifications, employing for this purpoſe a prodigious number of pioneers, and taking effectual care, in the mean

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mean time, to render it impoſſible for the beſieged to receive any reinforcement or ſupplies.

1579.

The States attempt in vain to relieve it.

THE States were not neglectful of the preſervation of a place, where both the garriſon and inhabitants had ſhewn themſelves ſo worthy of their attention. Having ſome time before received the celebrated La Noue into their ſervice, they had appointed him Governor of Maeſtricht, and given him the charge of conducting thither the reinforcements which they intended for the relief of the beſieged. Nothing was omitted by La Noue to fulfil their expectations; but ſo pernicious were the conſequences of that ſpirit of diſcord, which ſtill raged as furiouſly as ever, between the Proteſtants and Catholics, that, although the Council of State, ſeconded by the Prince of Orange, gave him all the aſſiſtance in their power, he was never able to collect a force ſufficient to execute his purpoſe. The ſituation therefore of the beſieged was become extremely deplorable. The garriſon, which in the beginning of the ſiege conſiſted of a thouſand men, was now reduced to four hundred, and the citizens and country-people had ſuffered a proportionable diminution. Their proviſions began to fail, and their ſtore of gunpowder was nearly exhauſted.

THEIR

THEIR diſtreſſes were much augmented towards the middle of June, by the loſs of a ravelin, which had enabled them to give great annoyance to the enemy. To acquire poſſeſſion of this ravelin had been the chief object of the Prince of Parma's operations for ſeveral weeks; and though he met with the moſt ſpirited reſiſtance, he at length accompliſhed his deſign, and could, with a large cavalier which he conſtructed, overlook the walls, and ſcour the town with his guns, almoſt from the one end to the other. Still however the beſieged, animated by the hopes of relief, refuſed to capitulate. 1579.

Maeſtricht taken by ſurprife.

BUT the ſiege was brought to a concluſion much ſooner than either of the two contending parties had reaſon to expect. On the 29th of June, it was ſuſpected by ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers, that the wonted vigilance of the garriſon was relaxed. In order to know the truth with certainty, theſe men crept ſilently to the top of the rampart, and found that the defendants were not only few in number, but overpowered with fatigue and heat, and buried in ſleep. Of this they carried information to the General; who, without delay, ordered ſuch of his troops as were neareſt, to aſcend the rampart with as little noiſe as poſſible. They were immediately followed by all the reſt of the army. The

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garriſon were thus ſuddenly overwhelmed, and almoſt all of them were put to the ſword. The inhabitants fought deſperately; but they ſunk at laſt under the ſuperior force of the aſſailants, who ſpared neither ſex nor age; and continued the ſlaughter, till of eight thouſand citizens, only three hundred remained. De Herle eſcaped by diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a menial ſervant; and Farneſe iſſued ſtrict orders to ſpare the life of the valiant Tappin [c].

The Prince of Orange labours to quell the tumults in Ghent.

DURING the ſiege of Maeſtricht, various political negotiations were carried on by the oppoſite parties. The Prince of Orange had at this time the chief direction of all the meaſures that were purſued by the States and council; Matthias having, from a conſciouſneſs of his own want of experience, left the entire adminiſtration in his hands. The diſſenſions between the Walloons and Flemings had from the beginning given him deep concern, and he had omitted nothing in his power to heal them. Among the Walloons he had little influence, by reaſon of their abhorrence of his religion, and the jealouſy which they had conceived of his deſigns. On the other hand, the Ghenteſe, who, in that age, were noted for their turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit,

[c] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. i. Meteren. lib. ix.

had

had been wrought up by certain factious leaders to a degree of madneſs, and were long deaf to all the remonſtrances which he could employ. St. Aldegonde, whom he ſent to deal with them, exerted, but in vain, all the addreſs and eloquence for which he was ſo highly celebrated. The interpoſition of Matthias and the States was equally ineffectual. Nor did they pay any greater regard to the repreſentations and threats of Elizabeth, who ſent over an ambaſſador[d] on purpoſe to perſuade them. At length, the Prince of Orange went himſelf to treat with them. They had lately inveighed againſt him, with great ſeverity, for his moderation towards the Catholics; and had ſuffered ſome of their preachers to arraign him on this account, as inſincere in his religious profeſſion. But, being flattered with that regard and confidence of which his preſent viſit was expreſſive, they reſumed their wonted affection to his perſon; and, after he had ſtaid among them ſome weeks, they complied with the ſeveral requeſts which they had hitherto rejected. They conſented to make reſtitution of the goods of which they had plundered the popiſh eccleſiaſtics; permitted the re-eſtabliſhment of the rights and ceremonies of the Romiſh church, forbad all abuſive

BOOK XV. 1579.

[d] Mr. Davidſon.

language,

BOOK XV. 1579. language, whether in the pulpit or in private aſſemblies, and engaged to yield a more prompt obedience for the future to the authority of the States[e].

It ſoon however appeared, that nothing but William's perſonal influence had induced them to make theſe conceſſions. In a few months afterwards, being incited by the ſame factious leaders to whom they had formerly liſtened, they indulged themſelves in the moſt unjuſtifiable exceſſes; they plundered the churches and monaſteries, expelled the eccleſiaſtics from the town, and ſeized their effects, which they diſtributed among the Germans, whom they had called to their aſſiſtance againſt the Walloons. Theſe and other enormities occaſioned the Prince of Orange to viſit the Ghenteſe a ſecond time; when they made him an offer of the government of the province. He prudently declined accepting this offer; but having again employed all his influence to quaſh the preſent diſſenſions in the city, he ſucceeded ſo far as to be able to compel Imbiſe the chief magiſtrate, together with his factious adherents, to leave the city. He likewiſe put the magiſtracy into the hands of the more moderate Reformers, ſet at liberty ſuch of the Walloon nobility as were

[e] Thuanus, lib. lxvi.

ſtill

ſtill in priſon, and procured for the Catholic inhabitants liberty of private worſhip, and ſecurity from moleſtation [f]. BOOK XV. 1579.

WILLIAM laboured with no leſs earneſtneſs to aſſuage the reſentment of the Walloons, who, although they had not been the firſt aggreſſors, perſiſted in their hoſtile diſpoſition, with the moſt unconquerable obſtinacy. By the artifices of Matthew de Moulard, Biſhop of Arras, the Count de La Lain, the Marquis de Roubais, and others of the nobility, who beheld with deep malignity William's unrivalled credit and authority, the people had conceived the moſt incurable ſuſpicions, that, far from being actuated by a diſintereſted attachment to the civil or religious liberty of the provinces, he intended only his own exaltation, and was preparing to eſtabliſh it upon the ruins of the Catholic faith. They lent a deaf ear therefore to every plan of accommodation that was propoſed, either by the Prince himſelf, or by Matthias and the States; who, they knew, were entirely directed by his counſels [g].

THE Prince of Parma was too ſagacious not to diſcern the advantage which this diſpoſition of the Walloons afforded him, for drawing them The Prince of Parma gains over the Walloons,

[f] Grotius, lib. iii.

[g] Reidanus, lib. ii. p. 29.

back

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back to their allegiance. Soon after the death of Don John of Auſtria, he had, for this purpoſe, begun a negociation with their leaders; upon which he had beſtowed particular attention, in the midſt of thoſe military occupations in which the ſiege of Maeſtricht had engaged him. In order to fruſtrate his endeavours, the Prince of Orange and the States remonſtrated to the Walloons on the infidelity which would be juſtly imputed to them, if they ſhould enter into any ſeparate terms of agreement; and repreſented to them the danger to which they would thereby expoſe *themſelves*, as well as the other provinces, of being again enthralled by the Spaniards. The Walloons could not entirely diveſt themſelves of the ſcruples, which theſe remonſtrances were calculated to excite; nor were they free from thoſe apprehenſions of the Spaniſh tyranny, by which the other provinces were ſo much diſquieted. They had not forgot the ſcenes of treachery and violence, of which they had been ſo often witneſſes; and found it difficult to rely on the promiſes of thoſe, whoſe inſincerity they had ſo frequently experienced. On the other hand, their bigotry, joined with the inveterate jealouſy which the nobility entertained of the Prince of Orange, formed an inſurmountable obſtacle againſt any agreement with the Flemings. *That* hatred with which they had

had been long actuated againſt the Spaniards, began to yield to a more implacable averſion againſt the Proteſtants; and in this they were confirmed by the addreſs of the Biſhop of Arras, and the other agents of the Prince of Parma; whoſe propoſals of accommodation they were now inclined to embrace, provided it could be done conſiſtently with thoſe ſolemn engagements, under which they had lately come to the other provinces. To theſe engagements, according to the ſenſe in which they themſelves underſtood them, they adhered with inflexible fidelity; and perſiſted to the laſt in requiring that all foreign troops ſhould be immediately diſmiſſed; that the pacification of Ghent ſhould be fully executed; and that Philip ſhould recogniſe their right to form alliances either within or without the Netherlands, in caſe of any infraction, on his part, of the articles of this pacification.

1579.

The Spaniſh and Italian troops ſent out of the Netherlands.

Of their ſeveral demands, there was none which the Prince of Parma found it ſo difficult to digeſt, as that of ſending away the foreign troops. *Their* place, he knew, could not be ſupplied by the undiſciplined forces of the country; and he dreaded that he ſhould be obliged to abandon the plan which he had formed, for ſubduing the maritime provinces. The King, to whom he applied for preciſe inſtruc-

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inſtructions, was no leſs averſe to this conceſſion. But Philip, conſidering the recovery of the Walloons (the moſt warlike of all the inhabitants of the Netherlands) as a matter of the laſt importance; eſpecially in the preſent juncture, when his exchequer was drained by the expence which he had incurred in the conqueſt of Portugal; and hoping, that by the indulgent meaſures which he had reſolved to eſpouſe in his treatment of the Walloons, he ſhould be able ere long to obtain their conſent to whatever he ſhould require of them, he ſent orders to Farneſe to haſten the concluſion of the treaty; and it was accordingly concluded

May 17th. in the following terms: That all foreign troops in the ſervice of the King, ſhould leave the Netherlands in ſix weeks, and never return thither without the conſent of the Walloon provinces: that an army of national troops ſhould be levied, to the payment of which the King might apply the ſubſidies to be granted by the States: that all perſons in public offices ſhould take an oath to maintain the Catholic religion: that all the privileges of the provinces ſhould remain inviolate: and that the government ſhould be preſerved in the ſame form in which it had been left by the late Emperor when he reſigned his dominions[h].

[h] Bentivoglio, part. ii. lib. i.

THIS

THIS treaty was ſigned, on the part of the provinces, only by the deputies of French Flanders, Artois, and Hainault. The other provinces were not called, as Luxemburg had never concurred in any of the late tranſactions; and the greateſt part of Limburg and Namur had already ſubmitted to the King's authority. 1579.

The union of Utrecht.

THE Prince of Orange, no ſtranger to the ſecret motives of the leading men among the Walloons, having foreſeen that this agreement would certainly take place, had, in order to provide a counterpoiſe againſt it, ſet on foot a new treaty of alliance among the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, Frieſland, Brabant, and Flanders. This alliance was called the Union of Utrecht, from the place where it was brought to a concluſion. It may juſtly be conſidered as the firſt foundation of the republic of the United Provinces. It is ſtill regarded as containing the fundamental laws of the conſtitution, and proves its author, by the wiſdom, moderation, and extenſive views which it diſcovers. It contains neither any avowal, nor any expreſs renunciation of their allegiance to Philip; but the provinces tacitly aſſume to themſelves the ſovereign authority, and lodge it partly in the general aſſembly of the States, and partly

BOOK XV. 1579.

in the States of the ſeveral provinces. The principal articles of this confederacy are thoſe which follow: "That the ſeveral provinces contracting, unite themſelves together in one political body, renouncing for ever the power of ſeparating from each other; but reſerving each to itſelf all the rights which it poſſeſſed before.

"That the ſaid provinces ſhall aſſiſt each other to repel the attacks of any foreign power; and, in particular, to repel whatever violence may be offered to any of the contracting parties, in the name of the King of Spain, under the pretext of eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion, or on account of any tranſaction in the Netherlands ſince the year 1558; leaving it always to the generality of the union to determine in what proportion each province ſhall be obliged to furniſh its ſupplies, either of money or of troops.

"That in Holland and Zealand, no religion but that which is already eſtabliſhed ſhall be openly profeſſed; and that the other provinces ſhall be at liberty to allow either of the Proteſtant religion, or the Catholic, or both, as they themſelves ſhall judge expedient: that reſtitution ſhall be made of the effects which belonged to the convents and churches, in all the

the provinces, except thoſe of Holland and Zealand: and in theſe, that penſions ſhall be appointed to the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, to be paid them whereſoever they reſide.

"THAT all frontier and other towns, which the general and provincial States ſhall think proper to fortify, ſhall be fortified at the joint expence of the generality, and of the particular province in which they lie; but if the General States ſhall on any occaſion think proper to build new forts, without the conſent of the particular province in which they lie, the generality ſhall furniſh the whole expence.

"THAT all fortified towns ſhall be obliged to receive ſuch garriſons as the generality ſhall appoint, on condition that the troops ſhall, beſides their oath of allegiance to the General States, take a particular oath to the province and town in which they are ſtationed.

"THAT the General States ſhall not conclude any peace or truce, nor undertake any war, nor impoſe any taxes, without the conſent of the majority of all the provinces and towns of the union; and that, on the other hand, no town or province ſhall enter into any alliance with any foreign prince or power, without conſent of the generality.

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"THAT in caſe any Prince or State ſhall incline to accede to this alliance, he may be admitted, with the conſent of all the members of the confederacy.

"THAT all the male inhabitants of the provinces, from the age of eighteen to that of ſixty, ſhall, in a month after the publication of the preſent treaty, inſcribe their names in a regiſter to be laid before the General States at their firſt aſſembly, to aſſiſt them in judging what forces each province is able to furniſh.

"THAT, in order to procure the money neceſſary for the ſupport of the forces, all the taxes ſhall be farmed out publicly, to thoſe who ſhall make the higheſt offer; and laſtly, that the ſaid taxes ſhall be heightened or lowered, according as the General States ſhall judge the exigencies of the confederacy to require."

THIS confederacy was not immediately attended with thoſe advantages which it was deſigned and calculated to produce. It behoved the religious parties to experience, for ſome time longer, the miſchievous effects of their intemperate zeal and bigotry, before they could live at peace. In ſeveral places, the people were ſtill agitated by the moſt violent animoſity

fity againſt one another. In Bois-le-duc, the Proteſtants and Papiſts took arms, and coming to blows, had ſeveral hundreds of their number killed. Soon after this, the Proteſtants, being ſeized with a ſudden panic, abandoned the town to their enemies, who immediately ſubmitted to the Spaniards. 1579.

Violence of the Proteſtants.

In Antwerp, where the Proteſtant party was the moſt powerful, the people inſulted the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, when employed in one of the ſolemn proceſſions of their religion; and in ſpite of Matthias and the Prince of Orange, who interpoſed their authority to protect them, they obliged them to leave the city.

Count Egmont's attempts on Bruſſels.

Theſe violences, which the reformers, impelled by their religious zeal, exerciſed in Antwerp and other places, ſerved only more eaſily to reconcile the Catholics to the Spaniſh government; and contributed not a little to make ſeveral of the nobility forſake the party of the States. Among theſe was Count Egmont, ſon of the great unfortunate Count Egmont. This young nobleman had hitherto diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal againſt the Spaniards; but reſolving now to make his peace with them, he attempted, with a regiment of Walloons, to render himſelf maſter of Bruſſels, in order to deliver it to Farneſe; and he ſuc-

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ceeded ſo far in his deſign, as to get poſſeſſion of one of the gates, and introduce his troops into the city. The citizens ran inſtantly to arms; and, being joined by ſome regular forces in the ſervice of the States, they quickly recovered the gate by a ſingular ſtratagem. Having driven violently towards it ſome waggons loaded with hay and ſtraw, they ſet fire to theſe combuſtible materials, and the wind blowing the flame and ſmoke towards Count Egmont's ſoldiers, they were obliged to betake themſelves to flight. The whole inhabitants had, in the mean time, got under arms, and Egmont, with the reſt of his men, was ſhut up in the market-place, hemmed in on every ſide, and without any proſpect of deliverance. There they remained during that day and the night following; neither of the two parties being inclined to begin hoſtilities. The citizens meanwhile indulged their reſentment, by reproaching the Count with his treachery, in forſaking thoſe who had taken arms to revenge his father's death; calling out to him, that only eleven years before, on the ſame day of the year, and in the very place where he then ſtood, his father had died a martyr for that cauſe, which *he* now wanted ſo baſely to betray. This bitter remembrance drew tears from the young man's eyes. The people were moved with that compaſſion for the ſon which they owed to the memory

mory of the father, and conſented to ſuffer him and his troops to leave the town[i].

1579.

Conferences for peace at Cologn.

DURING the courſe of theſe tranſactions, conferences for reconciling the Netherlands to Philip were held in the city of Cologn, at the requeſt and under the mediation of the Emperor, the Pope, and the Electors of Treves and Cologn. The Pope ſent thither Caſtagna, Archbiſhop of Roſſano, who afterwards attained the papal dignity, and aſſumed the name of Urban VII. The chief of the Emperor's embaſſy was Count Sewartzenburg. Philip named the Duke de Terra Nuova for his ambaſſador, and the Duke D'Arſchot was at the head of the deputies from the States. From this nomination of perſons of ſo great eminence and diſtinction, ſuperficial obſervers were apt to imagine, that the negotiation committed to them could not fail to be brought to the deſired concluſion. But this was not the judgment of perſons of greater penetration. They conſidered, not only that the Prince of Orange, and the other popular leaders by whom the States were governed, had already gone too far to expect forgiveneſs from the unrelenting temper of the King; but that the opinions of the Reformers were more widely

[i] Grotius, p. 64. Meteren, book ix. p. 250.

diffuſed,

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diffuſed, and their zeal, if poſſible, more ardent than ever. And as there was no reaſon to believe that they would ever be perſuaded to abandon their religion, ſo there was little ground to hope that Philip's bigotry would ſuffer him to agree to any terms of peace, whilſt they adhered to it. It was in reality this cauſe chiefly, by which the preſent negotiation, as well as all preceding ones, was fruſtrated. Philip acted on this occaſion with his uſual duplicity, and gave private inſtructions to his ambaſſador, of very different import from thoſe which had been communicated to the Emperor[k]. At firſt he ſeemed willing to ratify the pacification of Ghent; and by one of the articles of that treaty, religion was to remain on its preſent footing, till a general aſſembly of the States ſhould alter it. But in the courſe of the conferences it appeared, that the re-eſtabliſhment of popery was a condition without which he would agree to no accommodation. Neither would he conſent to the convoking of the aſſembly of the States, nor to the ratifying the election of Matthias; and he ſtill inſiſted peremptorily, that all cities, forts, and military ſtores, ſhould be immediately delivered into the hands of the Prince of Parma. In a word, the terms offered

[k] Strada, lib. v.

on

on this occaſion were, in every material article, the ſame with thoſe which had been formerly rejected by the provinces of Holland and Zealand, when they ſtood alone and unſupported by the other provinces; and therefore it is difficult to ſuppoſe that Philip could, from the beginning, have intended any thing by the preſent negotiation, but to gratify the Pope and Emperor, at whoſe deſire it was begun.

Philip attempts to gain over the Prince of Orange.

BEFORE the diſſolution of this congreſs, however, he humbled himſelf ſo far as to make private offers to the Prince of Orange. Theſe were the payment of his debts, the reſtitution of his eſtates, a compenſation for the loſſes which he had ſuſtained during the war, and the liberty of his ſon the Count of Buren, upon whom, if the Prince himſelf ſhould incline to retire into Germany, the King promiſed to beſtow the government of Holland and Utrecht. Theſe offers were made in Philip's name by Count Scwartzenburg, who pledged his faith for the ſtrict performance of them. William could not but be flattered with the teſtimony which was thus given, by an enemy ſo great and powerful, of the dread that was entertained of his abilities. But being ſuperior to the allurements of intereſt, he preferred the glory of ſaving from ſlavery a people who confided in his integrity, to all the advan-

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advantages which he or his family could have derived from the favour of the King. "He would liſten to no propoſal," he ſaid, "that related to himſelf only. He was conſcious, that in all his conduct, he had been animated by a diſintereſted affection towards the public good; and no conſideration would induce him to enter into any agreement, from which the States and people were excluded: but if *their* juſt claims were ſatisfied, he would not reject any terms for himſelf, which his conſcience and honour would ſuffer him to accept[1]."

Diſſolution of the congreſs.

Soon after this the congreſs was diſſolved; and no other effect was produced by it, except that the Duke D'Arſchot, and ſome other deputies of the States, embraced the opportunity with which it furniſhed them, of reconciling themſelves to the King.

The negotiations for peace did not entirely interrupt the operations of the war. By the aſſiſtance of the Catholic inhabitants, the Prince of Parma acquired poſſeſſion of Mechlin; and ſome time afterwards of Villebrock. Theſe loſſes were compenſated to the States, by ſome acquiſitions which their forces made under the Count of Renneberg; who, beſides

[1] Reidanus, p. 29. Grotius, p. 66.

reducing

reducing the province of Friesland, made himself master of Deventer and Groningen. In the southern provinces, the Flemings and Walloons were engaged in perpetual hostilities against one another; but no exploit was performed by either party, sufficiently interesting and important to deserve to be recorded. 1579.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XVI.

DURING the courſe of the preceding tranſactions in the Netherlands, Philip was aſſiduouſly employed in preparing to aſſert his claim to the kingdom of Portugal, an object fitted to inflame a more moderate ambition than that of Philip, and worthy of all the attention and expence which he beſtowed in order to acquire it. Under a ſucceſſion of Kings, who placed their glory in promoting commerce among their ſubjects, and in making diſcoveries in the remoteſt regions of the globe, the Portugueſe had attained a degree of conſideration among the European nations, from which the narrow limits of the kingdom, and the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh monarchy, ſeemed

BOOK XVI. 1579. State of Portugal.

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for ever to exclude them. Beſides eſtabliſhing ſettlements in Africa, and the adjacent iſlands, they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which no European mariners had ever attempted, and had penetrated boldly into almoſt every corner of the great eaſtern ocean, diſcovering lands till then unknown, and founding cities, with a view to the advancement of their trade. And not ſatisfied with their acquiſitions in the Eaſt, they had turned their arms towards America, and planted in Braſil that valuable colony of which they ſtill retain poſſeſſion.

Don Sebaſtian.

JOHN the Third, the laſt of thoſe great Kings under whoſe government the Portugueſe performed ſuch mighty atchievements, died ſeveral years before the preſent period, leaving his throne to Sebaſtian, his grandſon, who was then only three years old. This young Prince gave early indications of many ſplendid accompliſhments, which excited in the minds of the Portugueſe the moſt ſanguine hopes of a proſperous and happy reign; but unfortunately for himſelf, as well as for his people, he was animated with the moſt chimerical ambition, which led him not to imitate the example of his illuſtrious anceſtors, by ſtudying to promote the true happineſs of his ſubjects, but prompted him to extend

extend his dominions, in order to propagate the Romiſh faith. BOOK XVI.

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THIS paſſion was cheriſhed in him by Don Alexis de Menezes, his governor, and Lewis de Camarra, a Jeſuit, his tutor or inſtructor; the former of whom was perpetually celebrating the praiſes of his predeceſſors, on account of their victories over the Moors in Africa and the Indies; while the latter impreſſed his young mind with a perſuaſion, that it was the firſt duty of a Chriſtian King, and the moſt acceptable ſervice which he could perform to the Deity, to extend the knowledge of the true religion. By theſe means, his ambition was inflamed to a degree of madneſs; and, in order to accompliſh that deſign which appeared ſo meritorious and honourable, he once reſolved to ſail with a fleet and army to India; nor could his courtiers perſuade him to relinquiſh that romantic project, till they propoſed that, in place of it, he ſhould undertake an expedition againſt the Mahometans in Africa. From this enterpriſe likewiſe his wiſeſt counſellors laboured with much ſolicitude to divert him; but their exhortations proved ineffectual. Sebaſtian adhered to his purpoſe with inflexible obſtinacy, and exerted himſelf, with great activity, in making preparations for carrying it into execution. His romantic ambition.

BOOK XVI.

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State of Morocco.

In the midſt of theſe preparations an opportunity preſented itſelf, which he conſidered as a declaration of Heaven in favour of his deſign. On the death of Abdalla, King of Morocco, his ſon, Muley Mahomet, had ſeized upon the crown, in contradiction to an eſtabliſhed law of ſucceſſion, that the kingdom ſhould devolve to the brother of the deceaſed king. A civil war enſued, and Mahomet, after having loſt ſeveral pitched battles, was compelled to leave his uncle, Muley-Moluc, a Prince of great abilities and virtues, in poſſeſſion of the throne. After attempting in vain to engage Philip to eſpouſe his cauſe, Mahomet applied to Sebaſtian, and offered, if he would reinſtate him in his dominions, to put certain towns into his hands, and to become tributary to the crown of Portugal.

Sebaſtian reſolves to invade Morocco.

SEBASTIAN liſtened to theſe offers with the utmoſt pleaſure, and readily engaged to paſs over himſelf to Africa with a fleet and army.

To enable him to fulfil this engagement, he ſolicited aſſiſtance in troops from his uncle the King of Spain, from ſome Italian powers, and (which ſhews how anxious he was to enſure ſucceſs) from the Prince of Orange.

IN

1579.

In anſwer to the application which he made to Philip, that monarch propoſed an interview with him, in the town of Guadaloupe in Caſtile. Sebaſtian agreed to this propoſal; and the Spaniſh hiſtorians relate, that, in the interview which was held ſoon afterwards, Philip endeavoured to diſſuade him from his intended enterpriſe; but that, having found him inflexible, he promiſed, before they parted, to aſſiſt him with fifty gallies and five thouſand men. They add, that not long after, Philip dreading that the great number of Turks in the ſervice of Muley-Moluc might reduce Morocco under the dominion of the Sultan, made an offer of his friendſhip to that Prince, who, being likewiſe under apprehenſions of danger from the Turks, gladly accepted of it, and entered into the propoſed alliance. The ſame hiſtorians inform us, that about this time Philip obtained, through the interceſſion of the Venetians, a truce of three years from the Sultan; and that he was prompted to humble himſelf ſo far, as thus to treat with the inveterate enemies of Chriſtianity (which he had never vouchſafed to do before), by the anxiety which he entertained with regard to the tranſactions in the Netherlands[a].

The Prince of Orange was not leſs anxious concerning the iſſue of theſe tranſactions, yet

[a] Ferreras, vol. x. p. 306. 312.

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his conduct was extremely different from that of Philip; whether it proceeded from his native magnanimity, joined with a desire of giving proof, in the sight of all Europe, of the strength of the confederate provinces, or from the hopes of securing Sebastian's friendship to the confederacy in some future period; by whichsoever of these motives William was influenced on this occasion, he gave the kindest reception to Da Costa, the Portuguese ambassador, and afterwards sent three thousand Germans to the assistance of Sebastian[b].

His army.

THESE troops, with ten thousand Portuguese, and some Italians and Spaniards that were sent him by Philip, notwithstanding his late treaty with Muley-Moluc, made up an army of fifteen thousand men. With this army, and a great number of pioneers, Sebastian set sail from Portugal in the beginning of summer one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, and landed them all safe at Arzile and Tangiers, where he was joined by Mahomet, the exiled King, with a body of Moorish troops.

He arrives in Morocco.

Muley-Moluc.

MULEY-MOLUC, having received early intelligence of his design, had endeavoured to di-

[b] Thuanus.

vert

vert him from it, by offering him certain territories adjacent to thoſe ſea-coaſt towns in Africa which belonged to the crown of Portugal. This heroic Prince had been the more ſolicitous to prevent Sebaſtian's invaſion, becauſe he laboured under an inveterate diſeaſe, which he believed would ſoon prove mortal; and he was deſirous to leave his dominions in peace to his brother, whom he conſidered as his rightful heir. But when he found Sebaſtian deaf to his propoſal, he had exerted all his native vigour in preparing for his defence, and had drawn together an army conſiſting of more than ſixty thouſand horſe and foot. BOOK XVI. 1579.

WITH this army he advanced towards the enemy, and when he had arrived within a few miles of their camp, as he doubted the fidelity of a part of his troops who had formerly been attached to the intereſt of his nephew, he publiſhed a proclamation, giving liberty to all, who ſhould incline, to paſs over to the Portugueſe. But few of them embraced this opportunity which was offered them. His magnanimity, and other virtues, had overcome their attachment to Mahomet, and determined them faithfully to ſupport their preſent ſovereign.

SEBASTIAN was earneſtly entreated by his moſt experienced officers, and by Mahomet, Imprudence of Sebaſtian.

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who was greatly diſcouraged at ſeeing ſo ſmall a deſertion from his uncle's army, to keep within his entrenchments, near the ſea-coaſt, and not to expoſe his troops to the riſk of a battle; but that obſtinate, imprudent Prince, rejected with diſdain this wholeſome counſel, becauſe he thought that it favoured of timidity, and not only led out his army from the camp which he had fortified, but marched into the centre of the country to meet the enemy.

MOLUC's diſtemper, in the mean time, had made the moſt rapid progreſs; yet the ſtrength of his mind was unabated. If he had not dreaded the quick approach of death, he would have been ſatisfied with cutting off Sebaſtian's communication with the ſhips, and as the Portugueſe were badly furniſhed with proviſions, have brought the war to a concluſion without fighting; but he dreaded the effect which his death might produce upon his troops, and therefore reſolved to bring on, as ſoon as poſſible, a general engagement. Sebaſtian's raſhneſs rendered it eaſy for him to execute this reſolution. Without regard to the great ſuperiority of Moluc's forces, that infatuated Prince ventured to advance into an open country, where the whole Mooriſh army, horſe as well as foot, could be employed. Moluc improved with great dexterity the advantage which

which was thus afforded him. Having drawn up his army in the form of a half-moon, he went in his litter through all the ranks, exhorting his troops to remember, that their religion and liberty were at ſtake; and aſſuring them, that by whatever pretext Sebaſtian had offered to juſtify his preſent unprovoked invaſion, his real deſign was, to reduce the Moors to ſlavery, and to extirpate their religion. Then after he had given all the inſtructions which he thought neceſſary to enſure ſucceſs, finding his ſtrength almoſt quite ſpent, he committed the command of the army to his brother, and retired to a little diſtance from the field.

Battle of Alcazar.

THE battle was begun with a furious diſcharge of the artillery; but the two armies came ſoon to cloſe fight, and the Portugueſe infantry repulſed the Moors in different places with great ſlaughter. In the mean time the Mooriſh cavalry, amounting to thirty thouſand, having wheeled round from both wings, had incloſed the enemy on every quarter; immediately after which, they attacked them on the flanks, and in the rear, while they were purſuing the advantage which they had gained over the Mooriſh infantry. By the Portugueſe horſe, a body of the Moors was repulſed, and driven towards the place to which Moluc had retired. Fired with indignation at the fight,

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he threw himſelf out of his litter, and having got on horſeback, by the aſſiſtance of his attendants, he rallied his flying troops, and was about to lead them back to the field of battle. But by this exertion the ſmall remains of his ſtrength were entirely exhauſted. His officers ſeeing him unable to ſupport himſelf on his horſe, carried him to his litter, where he fainted, and only recovered to deſire that thoſe about him would keep his death ſecret till the battle ſhould be decided; immediately after which, putting his finger on his mouth, as a further injunction of ſecrecy, he expired.

Death of Muley-Moluc.

His character.

A MORE ſtriking diſplay of ſtrength of mind occurs not in the annals of hiſtory. Moluc was beſides endued with every amiable and reſpectable accompliſhment, being no leſs conſpicuous for juſtice and generoſity, and (which were rare endowments in a native of Africa) integrity and candor, than for prudence, vigour, magnanimity, and fortitude. By his bravery and conduct he delivered his kingdom from the oppreſſion of a tyrannical uſurper; and if he had lived, he would have advanced it to a degree of proſperity and glory to which it has never attained.

HIS troops remained under a perſuaſion, that he was ſtill a ſpectator of their behaviour.

Great

Great numbers of them fell. The Portugueſe, the Spaniards, and Germans, fought with the moſt undaunted intrepidity; but the horſe being driven upon the foot, broke their ranks, and threw them into confuſion. The Mooriſh cavalry then preſſed forward in thouſands on every ſide, and made dreadful havoc among them, till almoſt all of them were either ſlain or taken priſoners. BOOK XVI. 1579.

Sebastian himſelf, who ſtill ſurvived the fatal cataſtrophe, had, in the arrangement of his troops and in the beginning of the engagement, acted the part of an expert commander; and he gave afterwards many conſpicuous proofs of the moſt heroic valour, flying from rank to rank, encouraging and exhorting the troops; expoſing himſelf to every danger; and often mingling ſword in hand with the thickeſt of the enemy. Having had three horſes killed under him and his ſtandard-bearer ſlain, his ſoldiers, in the confuſion of battle, miſtook another ſtandard for his, which they flocked round, and left their King almoſt alone. The Moors called out to him, that if he would ſurrender, they would ſpare his life; "but you cannot," replied he, "preſerve my honour." Then accompanied only by the Count of Vimioſo, Chriſtopher Tavora, and Nunno de Maſcaregnas, he threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy, and fought deſperately, till Vimioſo

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mioſo and Tavora fell by his ſide, and he himſelf, breathleſs and exhauſted, and unable any longer to wield his ſword, was ſeized and diſarmed by the ſurrounding Moors.

Death of Sebaſtian.

THESE men quarrelled with one another concerning their royal priſoner, and from words they had recourſe to arms; when a Mooriſh officer coming up, put an end to the diſpute, by diſcharging a furious ſtroke of his ſabre on the head of the King[c].

IN this manner periſhed the brave but raſh Sebaſtian; whoſe fate affords a ſtriking inſtance of the pernicious tendency of courage and ambition, when they are not tempered with prudence and moderation. About eight thouſand of his troops were killed, and all the reſt, except a few who eſcaped to Arzile and Tangiers, were reduced to ſlavery. Of the nobility the greateſt part were ſlain; and ſeveral of the moſt illuſtrious families in Portugal became extinct[d].

[c] The account of Sebaſtian's death reſts entirely on the teſtimony of Don Nunno de Maſcaregnas, who was an eye-witneſs; nor did De Thou think there was any reaſon for calling it in queſtion; though ſome other authors inſinuate, that Sebaſtian laid violent hands on himſelf.

[d] Mahomet, the exiled King, was drowned in attempting to make his eſcape; and Hamet, Muley-Moluc's brother, ſucceeded to the throne of Fez and Morocco.

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Don Henry King of Portugal.

Don Henry, grand uncle of Sebaſtian, a Cardinal and a prieſt, ſucceeded to the throne; but being of a weak and ſickly conſtitution, and far advanced in years, there was little probability either that he would live long, or that he would leave any iſſue behind him: and his ſhort reign ſerved only to give the ſeveral pretenders to his kingdom an opportunity of preparing to aſſert their claims to the ſucceſſion.

Candidates for the ſucceſſion.

The candidates were ſeven in number: the Ducheſs of Braganza, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, Don Antonio prior of Crato, the Duke of Parma, Catherine of Medicis, and the Sovereign Pontiff.

The four firſt were grand-children of Emanuel the Great, father of Henry. The Ducheſs of Braganza was daughter of Prince Edward, Emanuel's ſecond ſon; Philip was ſon of the Empreſs Iſabella, his eldeſt daughter; the Duke of Savoy, of Beatrix, his younger daughter; and Don Antonio was a natural ſon of Lewis, who was a younger ſon of Emanuel, and brother to the preſent King. The Duke of Parma was great grandſon of Emanuel, by a daughter of the above-mentioned Prince Edward. The Queen-mother of France founded her claim on her ſuppoſed deſcent from Alphonſo

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phonſo III. who died about three hundred years before the preſent period; and the Pope pretended that Portugal was feudatory to the ſee of Rome, and belonged to him, ſince the male-heirs in the direct line were extinct. Gregory had conceived a violent deſire to make his natural ſon a King, and he had once flattered himſelf with the hopes of making him King of Ireland, through the aſſiſtance of Philip. But as it is inconceivable how he could ever expect to perſuade Philip to quit *his* claim, ſo nothing but folly or dotage could have determined him to proſecute his own, in oppoſition to ſo powerful an antagoniſt.

THE pretenſions of Catherine of Medicis, and her hopes of ſucceſs, if ſhe entertained any, were not leſs chimerical than thoſe of the Pope. It can hardly be believed, that this political Princeſs could, in her preſent competition, have any other end in view, but to obſtruct the ambitious deſigns of Philip, and to furniſh the court of France with pretence for oppoſing him.

FROM the Dukes of Savoy and Parma, Philip knew that he ſhould not meet with oppoſition; ſince, beſides that his claim was better founded than theirs, theſe Princes were in cloſe alliance with him, and depended much upon his

his ſupport and protection. Could Don Antonio have proved his mother's marriage, his right to the throne would have been unqueſtionable. He attempted to prove it, but in vain. Still, however, he perſiſted in his purpoſe, and with ſome addreſs and great activity, he gained over a conſiderable party among the people. Moſt of the nobility, on the other hand, and the King himſelf, who knew the vanity of Antonio's pretenſions to legitimacy, were inclined to ſupport the claim of the Ducheſs of Braganza[c]; whoſe right, they thought, was clearly preferable to that of Philip, not only becauſe ſhe was deſcended from Emanuel by a male, and Philip by a female; but becauſe an ancient and fundamental law required, that the crown ſhould not be inherited by a ſtranger.

Philip's title.

PHILIP's agents at the court of Liſbon allowed, that if the Ducheſs of Braganza's father had been alive, his title would have been indiſputable; but they maintained, that ſince he had died without attaining poſſeſſion of the throne, nothing but the degree of conſanguinity to Emanuel ought to be regarded; and that as the Ducheſs and he were equal in that reſpect, the preference was due to a male

[c] The Duke of Braganza himſelf was ſprung, though not in a direct line, from the royal blood.

before

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before a female. And they farther inſiſted that the law which excludes ſtrangers from inheriting the crown, was not applicable to *him*, ſince Portugal had formerly belonged to the Kings of Caſtile.

BESIDES theſe conſiderations, which had very little weight, except with thoſe who were for other reaſons inclined to eſpouſe Philip's intereſt, the Duke de Oſſuna, his ambaſſador, endeavoured to impreſs the ſcrupulous and timid mind of Henry with a perſuaſion, that, in oppoſition to ſo powerful a competitor as the King of Spain, it would be impoſſible for the Duke of Braganza to maintain poſſeſſion of the throne; and that the fruits of all the glorious diſcoveries and conqueſts which had been made by his father and brother, would be loſt, and the kingdom itſelf involved in the calamities of war.

Don Henry diſcuſſes the claims of the competitors.

HENRY'S deſire to prevent theſe unhappy conſequences, determined him to proceed with great deliberation in examining the pleas of the contending parties. He conſulted civilians in different parts of Europe, and called a convention of the States of the kingdom, to give him their opinion with reſpect to the meaſures proper to be purſued. The members of the convention differed widely in their ſentiments from each other, and while ſome of them

adviſed him, without delay, to nominate for his ſucceſſor whichſoever of the competitors he thought fit, others exhorted him deliberately to examine the ſeveral claims that had been offered. In compliance with this laſt advice, the candidates were cited to appear; and they all ſent commiſſioners, who pleaded the cauſe of the Princes whom they repreſented, before Henry, as they would have pleaded an ordinary point of right before a civil judge.

Henry's deliberations.

THIS extraordinary trial, in which ſo great attention ſeemed to be paid to juſtice, was ſuited to the feeble and irreſolute character, as well as to the habits of the King, who had ſpent his life in liſtening to the idle diſputes of theologians. But his conduct was ſeverely cenſured by all men of prudence and underſtanding. They conſidered that the fate of kingdoms can almoſt never be decided by the forms or principles of law; and they regarded this farcical trial, not only as uſeleſs for the purpoſe which was intended, but as calculated to divide the kingdom into factions, which muſt ſooner or later produce a civil war.

His imprudence.

HE ought in the beginning, it was ſaid, to have declared himſelf in favour of the Ducheſs of Braganza, whoſe right, according to the moſt common and obvious law of ſucceſſion, was

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was unqueſtionable; and who, beſides, was much more acceptable to the nation than any other of the candidates. He ought, after this, to have cauſed her right to be recogniſed by the convention of the States, who would cheerfully have conſented to acknowledge it; he ought to have required an oath of allegiance to her, in the event of his own demiſe, from the army, and all perſons in public offices; and then, inſtead of loſing his precious time in conſulting and deliberating, he ought to have employed it, in putting the kingdom into a poſture of defence againſt the King of Spain.

But Henry was incapable of forming any reſolution that required ſo much courage, vigour, and activity. He was no leſs attached to the Ducheſs of Braganza, and no leſs averſe from Philip, than his nobility and people; yet he ſtill continued to deliberate, as if he had expected to live for many years.

In order to extricate himſelf from this perplexity, Henry began to think ſeriouſly of a propoſal which had been made to him by ſome of his counſellors, to marry; and accordingly, notwithſtanding his great age, his infirmities, and his having borne ſo long the character of a prieſt, he ſent an ambaſſador to ſolicit a diſpenſation from the Pope. There was little probability

bility of his living to fulfil his intentions, and much leſs of his leaving any iſſue behind him; yet Philip, being greatly alarmed at his deſign, ſent Ferdinand de Caſtello, a Dominican friar, to diſſuade him from it, by reminding him of the offence which his marriage would give to all true Catholics, and the triumph it would afford to the Lutherans and other ſectaries of the age; and when Henry refuſed to admit Caſtello to an audience, a circumſtance that furniſhed Philip with a ſtronger proof of Henry's alienation from him than any which he had hitherto received, he employed all his intereſt at Rome, to prevent the Pope from granting the diſpenſation.

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In the mean time he ſpared no pains to conciliate the favour of the principal nobility; and having ſpread his emiſſaries over the kingdom, he publiſhed a manifeſto in vindication of his title, calling upon the people to turn their eyes towards *him*, as the only perſon who would have a right to the throne after the deceaſe of the preſent King. This manifeſto, while it incenſed Henry more than ever againſt him, ſerved in no degree the purpoſe for which it was deſigned. The Portugueſe entertained the thoughts of falling under the dominion of the Caſtilians with an hereditary and violent averſion; and there was nothing in the character

Philip's manifeſto.

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of Philip by which their prejudice could be overcome.

If Henry had availed himſelf of this diſpoſition of his ſubjects, and acknowledged the Ducheſs of Braganza for his ſucceſſor, almoſt the whole kingdom would have concurred to ſupport her claim; and ſo great a force might have been prepared, as, with the aſſiſtance of foreign powers, would have either determined Philip to abandon his deſign, or have prevented him from carrying it into execution. But as the Duke and Ducheſs of Braganza were deterred from exerting themſelves, by their dread of Philip, and the weak irreſolute conduct of the King; ſo Henry ſtill flattered himſelf with the vain conceit, that Philip as well as the other competitors would ſubmit to his deciſion.

Don Antonio declared illegitimate.

Towards his nephew, Henry acted with much leſs heſitation and reſerve, than towards the other candidates. Having obtained a bull from the Pope, empowering him to judge of Antonio's claim to legitimacy, he examined the witneſſes whom Antonio produced to prove his mother's marriage; and, having extorted from two of them a confeſſion of their having been ſuborned, while the other two contradicted each other in delivering their evidence,

Henry,

Henry, on this foundation, joined with the circumſtance of the Prior's being mentioned by his father in his latter will as his natural ſon, paſſed ſentence, declaring him to be illegitimate. BOOK XVI. 1579.

ANTONIO had influence afterwards to perſuade the Pope to recall his bull, on the pretence of the King's having exceeded his powers. By this treatment Henry was highly exaſperated, both againſt the Pope and Don Antonio; and he indulged his reſentment againſt the latter, by baniſhing him firſt from the court, and afterwards from the kingdom. In obedience to this ſentence, Antonio retired for ſome time into Caſtile, but he ſoon returned, and found that his uncle's conduct towards him had not produced that effect upon the people which Henry had expected. Their attachment to the Prior remained as ſtrong as ever: and, as no pains were taken to form a party in the intereſt of the Ducheſs of Braganza, great numbers of the people were entirely devoted to him, and regarded him as their only reſource againſt the tyranny of Spain.

FROM this diſpoſition of the people, together with the activity which Antonio diſplayed in augmenting the number of his partiſans, Philip perceived that he muſt not ſatisfy himſelf with Philip's military preparations.

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arguments, manifeſtoes, and private applications to individuals, but muſt reſolve to ſupport his claim by force of arms. Agreeably to this reſolution, he iſſued orders for levying troops in Spain, Italy, and Germany; and gave inſtructions to the Marquis de Santa Croce to hold the fleet in readineſs for action. He was aware how much reaſon he had to expect oppoſition from ſeveral of the European powers; and in order to prevent them from being alarmed, he cauſed a report to be propagated, that having entered lately into an alliance with the new King of Morocco, his preſent military preparations were intended for an expedition which he had agreed to undertake, in conjunction with that monarch, againſt Algiers. This pretext ſerved the purpoſe which he deſigned; and neither the King of France, nor the Queen of England, nor any Italian or German Prince, ſeemed to attend to his operations.

In the mean time, Henry's health declined daily, and all about him perceived that his death was faſt approaching. He appeared now more deſirous than ever to have his ſucceſſor fixed; and having for this purpoſe ſummoned the States to meet at Almerin, he ſeems to have reſolved to declare himſelf either in favour of the King of Spain, or the Ducheſs of Braganza, according

according as he ſhould find the one or the other of theſe competitors moſt acceptable to the States. But the members of this aſſembly could not agree. Moſt of the nobility and eccleſiaſtics had, by different means, been gained over to the intereſt of Philip, while the deputies of the cities were animated with the moſt irreconcilable averſion to his perſon and government. BOOK XVI. 1579.

In the midſt of their deliberations and diſputes the King died, leaving the nomination of his ſucceſſor to five perſons, to whom he committed the regency of the kingdom. Death of Henry, Jan. 31ſt, 1580.

The firſt act of the adminiſtration of the Regents, was to ſend ambaſſadors to Philip, to diſſuade him from having recourſe to arms, till, according to the will of the late King, they ſhould deliver their judgment concerning his right to the ſucceſſion. But to this requeſt, Philip, whoſe preparations were now complete, gave the following reply: "That his right was clear and indiſputable; that he would not ſubmit it either to the Regents, or to the States; and that he did not deſire to have any judgment whatever paſſed in confirmation of it."

By this anſwer the Regents were thrown into great perplexity. A majority of them

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ſtood well affected towards Philip, but they were prevented from declaring in his favour, by their dread of the indignation of the people, and were obliged to iſſue orders for equipping the fleet, and ſtrengthening the fortifications and garriſons of the frontier towns. But the great exertion which had been made lately by Sebaſtian, and the exhauſted ſtate to which the kingdom had been reduced, by the numberleſs expeditions to India and America, from which no fruit had been yet derived, ſufficient to compenſate either for the expence which they had coſt, or the loſs of men which they had occaſioned, rendered it impoſſible for the Regents, if they had been ever ſo much inclined, to ſecure the kingdom againſt ſo great a force as the Spaniſh monarch had prepared.

Philip's fleet and army,

His army, including four thouſand pioneers, amounted to thirty-five thouſand men, and his fleet conſiſted of thirty men of war, ſeventeen frigates, and ſeventy gallies and ſhips of burden loaded with proviſions and military ſtores. It was not likely that ſo great a fleet and army would find employment in ſubduing a kingdom ſo ill prepared for defence, and ſo much weakened by inteſtine diviſions, as Portugal at the preſent period. But beſides that Philip was, from natural temper, generally cautious to exceſs in his military enterpriſes, it ſhould ſeem that,

that, in the preſent caſe, he regarded the importance of the prize more than the difficulty of attaining it; unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that he ſtill had reaſon to apprehend that the French and Engliſh would interpoſe.

commanded by Santa Croce,

He gave the command of the fleet to the Marquis of Santa Croce, who was reckoned the ableſt naval officer in Spain. But he heſitated for ſome time with regard to the perſon whom he ſhould place at the head of his land-forces. His heſitation, however, did not proceed from any doubt which he entertained with regard to the merit and abilities of his Generals. For the Duke of Alva was ſtill alive; whom Philip knew to be poſſeſſed of every qualification requiſite to ſecure the ſucceſs of his intended enterpriſe.

and the Duke of Alva.

Alva, upon his return from the Netherlands, had been admitted by Philip to the ſame degree of favour and confidence which he had formerly enjoyed. But his ſon, Don Garcia de Toledo, having debauched one of the maids of honour, under a promiſe of marriage, Philip had put him under arreſt, and given orders that he ſhould not be releaſed till he ſhould conſent to fulfil his engagement: notwithſtanding which, his father had aſſiſted him in making his eſcape; and, in order effectually to diſap-

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point the King's intention, had concluded a marriage between him and his couſin, a daughter of the Marquis of Villena.

PHILIP, highly provoked with this contempt of his authority, had baniſhed the Duke from court, and confined him to the caſtle of Uzeda. Alva bore this indignity with extreme impatience, and perſuaded the Pope, and ſome other foreign Princes, to employ their interceſſion in his behalf; but all his applications for forgiveneſs had hitherto been ineffectual, and he had remained almoſt two years in confinement. This ſeverity, exerciſed for ſo ſmall an offence, towards an old friend and ſervant, in the decline of life, was by ſome aſcribed to Philip's imperious temper, and his implacable reſentment; whilſt others ſaid, that he had been long diſguſted with Alva's arrogance; and that the Duke's conduct in the affair of his ſon, was only a pretence which Philip made uſe of, to juſtify himſelf for diſmiſſing from his preſence a man whoſe temper and manners were become intolerable.

To whichſoever of theſe motives Philip's treatment of Alva could be aſcribed, it was expected, that neither his pride, nor his natural ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, would have ſuffered him to commit the charge of an enterpriſe of ſo great

great importance as the preſent, to one towards whom he had ſhewn himſelf ſo inexorable; and it excited great ſurpriſe, when he ſent two of his ſecretaries to the Duke, to inquire whether his health would permit him to undertake the command of the army which he had prepared for the conqueſt of Portugal. To this inquiry, Alva, without heſitation, replied, that he was ready to devote the little health and ſtrength that were left him to the ſervice of the King; and immediately afterwards he ſet out for Barajas to receive his inſtructions. He deſired liberty to pay his reſpects to Philip at Madrid. But ſo ungracious was this Prince even towards ſuch of his miniſters as he eſteemed the moſt, and ſo incapable of entirely forgiving any offence or injury, that he refuſed to grant him admittance into his preſence; and, having tranſmitted his inſtructions to him at Barajas, he ordered him to join the army as ſoon as poſſible. Thoſe who remembered the barbarous cruelty which Alva had exerciſed in the Netherlands, were not ſorry for the mortification which he ſuffered on the preſent occaſion; but they could not with-hold the tribute of applauſe which was due to him, on account of that inflexible fidelity, ſo becoming in a ſubject towards the ſovereign, which determined him, in the extremity of old age, to expoſe himſelf to all the

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hazards and hardſhips of war, in order to advance the intereſt of a Prince by whom he had been treated ſo ungratefully.

March of the Spaniſh troops. June 1580.

FROM Barajas Alva went, as ſoon as he had received his inſtructions, to join the troops, which were aſſembled at Badajox; and ſoon afterwards he began his march towards Elvas and Olivença. Theſe and all the other towns which lie north from the Tagus, as far as Setubal on the weſtern coaſt, though extremely averſe to the Spaniſh government, yet being utterly unprepared for reſiſtance, opened their gates and proclaimed Philip for their ſovereign.

THE Marquis de Santa Croce, who had ſet ſail with the fleet from Port St. Mary near Cadiz, found the ſame facility in reducing Faro, Lagos, and other towns on the coaſt of Algarva and Antejo; and he came in ſight of Setubal, in a few days after the arrival of the land forces at that place.

Progreſs of the Spaniſh arms.

HITHERTO almoſt no blood had been ſhed, and neither the fleet nor army had met with any oppoſition to retard their progreſs. The Duke of Alva intended next to march without delay to the capital, but it was neceſſary, he thought, to proceed now with greater circum-

ſpection than before, as Don Antonio had drawn together a conſiderable body of forces, had been admitted into Liſbon, where he was proclaimed King by the people, and had ſtrengthened ſeveral of the towns and forts by which the Spaniſh army muſt paſs in their approach to that city. BOOK XVI. 1580.

THREE ways of reaching Liſbon were propoſed in a council of war that was held on this occaſion. One of theſe was to croſs the Tagus, ſome miles above the city, at the towns of Almerin and Santeren; another, to ſend round the fleet to Almada, and to put the troops on board at that place, which lies almoſt directly oppoſite to Liſbon; and the third, to carry the army round by ſea from Setubal to Caſcaes. The two firſt of theſe ways was thought preferable to the laſt, by moſt of the officers, becauſe they were ſafer; yet the laſt was embraced by the Duke of Alva. He acknowledged the juſtneſs of what his officers advanced in ſupport of their opinion; but he obſerved, that as the fleet was at hand, the army could be immediately put on board; that the paſſage to Caſcaes was not long, and that as the enemy were ill prepared for their defence, his ſucceſs would be greatly facilitated by the celerity of his approach.

ALVA

BOOK XVI. 1580.

ALVA was not diſappointed in his expectation of the effect which his ſudden arrival was calculated to produce upon the Portugueſe. They were drawn up along the ſhore, as if they had intended to diſpute his landing; but no ſooner had the ſhips begun to fire upon them, than they retired, and ſuffered him to land, and put his men in order, without giving him the ſmalleſt moleſtation. They might ſtill have obſtructed his approach to Caſcaes, as his road thither lay over a hill, defended with a battery of cannon, and full of rugged rocks and brambles, of which Don Diego de Meneſes, Commander in Chief of the Portugueſe under Don Antonio, had taken poſſeſſion with between three and four thouſand men. Alva ordered the Spaniards to attack them, without being deterred, either by the ſtrength of the ground or the number of the enemy. An old experienced officer, of the name of Barietttos, an intimate friend of Alva's, aſked him in a whiſper, Whether his attemping, with ſo little precaution, to diſlodge an enemy ſo ſtrongly ſituated, did not reſemble the action of an ardent young warrior, rather than that of an experienced General? Alva ſmiled, and replied, That a good General ought, on ſome occaſions, to employ the prudence and circumſpection of old age, and in others, the ardour and

and confidence of youth. The event ſhewed that his conduct, though apparently raſh, was well adapted to the preſent circumſtances. The Spaniards, inſpired with their General's confidence, advanced boldly, and the Portugueſe (almoſt all of whom were raw and undiſciplined) retreated without waiting for their approach. 1580.

Alva laid ſiege immediately afterwards to the town and caſtle of Caſcaes, and by the briſkneſs of his operations he ſoon compelled the garriſon to ſurrender. But on this occaſion he ſullied that renown which his wiſdom and vigour would have procured him, by the cruelty which he exerciſed towards ſuch of the Portugueſe as had thrown themſelves upon his mercy. In violation of his promiſe to Don Antonio de Caſtro, Lord of Caſcaes, who had joined him upon his firſt arrival in the kingdom, he gave up the town to be plundered by the Spaniards, and having ſent all the ſoldiers in the garriſon to the gallies, he put to death, without any form of trial, Don Diego de Meneſes, a nobleman of an illuſtrious family, and one who, on account of his perſonal merit, was univerſally reſpected and beloved. To this barbarity Alva was prompted by private reſentment againſt Meneſes[d]; although it may

[d] Thuanus, lib. lxx. c. x.

be

BOOK XVI. 1580.

be preſumed that he would not have ventured to indulge it on the preſent occaſion, had he not known that his conduct was conformable to the ſentiments of the King. It was calculated to inſpire the Portugueſe with terror, but it ſerved likewiſe more than ever to alienate their affections; and conſidering how much ſuperior the Spaniſh fleet and army were to any force which had been prepared to oppoſe them, it could not be coloured with the tyrant's ordinary plea of neceſſity.

FROM the town of Caſcaes, Alva led his army againſt the forts of St. John and Belen, both which he ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering; and being ſeconded in his operations by the fleet, the example of theſe places was quickly followed by Almada, and almoſt all the other fortified towns on both ſides of the river.

Don Antonio.

DURING theſe tranſactions, Don Antonio, after having, from a conſciouſneſs of the weakneſs of his party, eſſayed in vain to obtain advantageous terms from Philip, had pitched his camp, with all the forces which he could collect, on the eaſt ſide of the river of Alcantara, on the road to Liſbon.

ALVA

ALVA amuſed him for ſeveral days with the hopes of an accommodation, in order to afford time for the operation of a ſpirit of deſpondency that prevailed in Antonio's army. Meanwhile he omitted not to procure the moſt accurate information concerning the ſituation and ſtrength of his camp; and, on the 25th of Auguſt, he reſolved to attack it. Before he could approach the intrenchments, it was neceſſary that he ſhould make himſelf maſter of the bridge of Alcantara, or lead his army to a conſiderable diſtance up the river, the banks of which were ſo ſteep and rugged, as rendered it impoſſible to tranſport either horſe or foot in ſight of the enemy. Having drawn up his main army in order of battle, directly oppoſite to the Portugueſe camp, he ſent the horſe under his ſon Ferdinand de Toledo, and two thouſand ſelect infantry, under Sancio D'Avila, to croſs the river ſeveral miles higher, where the banks were practicable, whilſt he ordered Colonna, with the Italians, to make an aſſault upon the bridge.

COLONNA'S troops were twice repulſed; but in the third onſet, being ſupported by a body of Germans, which the Duke had ſent to their aſſiſtance, they drove the Portugueſe before them, and ſecured poſſeſſion of the bridge.

SOON

BOOK XVI.

1580.

Defeat of the Portugueſe under Antonio.

Soon afterwards Toledo and D'Avila appeared. The Portugueſe, aſtoniſhed at the ſight of them, and dreading that their communication with the city might be intercepted, threw down their arms after a ſhort reſiſtance, and betook themſelves to flight. The Spaniards purſued, and ſlew between two and three thouſand before they could reach the town.

Don Antonio, who diſplayed on this occaſion neither fortitude nor conduct, had fled with his troops to Liſbon. There he knew that he could not remain long in ſafety, as, beſides the inſufficiency of the fortifications, the magiſtrates, and many of the inhabitants, were diſaffected to his intereſt; and therefore, immediately after releaſing all the priſoners in the city (a poor expedient to recruit his ruined army), he ſet out, attended by the Count de Vimioſo, and the Biſhop of La Guarda, with a ſmall number of troops, for the town of Santaren.

The magiſtrates of Liſbon did not heſitate a moment in reſolving to ſubmit to the conqueror, and the town was, immediately after the battle, delivered into his hands. The Portugueſe fleet at the ſame time ſtruck their colours to the Marquis de Santa Croce, and received ſuch

ſuch a number of his Caſtilians on board as gave him the entire command.

1580.

Cruel treatment of the Portugueſe.

It was now become Philip's intereſt to provide for the ſecurity of Liſbon and its ſuburbs, as much as for that of any of his towns in Spain; and Alva ſo far fulfilled his engagement with the magiſtrates, as to prevent any formidable number of his troops from entering the town; but he gave up the ſuburbs (which were at that time no leſs conſiderable than the town itſelf [c]) to be ranſacked and plundered, without making any diſtinction between the friends and enemies of the King. He ſuffered them likewiſe to pillage the houſes of ſuch of the inhabitants within the town, as had diſcovered any attachment to Don Antonio, and he allowed parties to go out and plunder all the country and villages in the neighbourhood. A Spaniſh hiſtorian ſays, that the ſoldiers committed theſe enormities without the Duke's permiſſion, yet no puniſhment was ever inflicted on them, and no reſtitution was ever made to the many thouſand innocent perſons who were involved in the ſame common ruin with the guilty.

After a conduct ſo barbarous and impolitic, there was little reaſon to expect that the people

[c] Thuanus, l. lxx. c. x.

BOOK XVI. 1580.

of Liſbon would be able ſoon to overcome their averſion to the Spaniſh government. From their dread of Alva's tyranny, they took the oath of allegiance which was preſcribed to them; and, from the ſame motive, they were preſent at thoſe public rejoicings which he appointed to be celebrated on account of his ſucceſs; but being unable to conceal the anguiſh of their minds, the acclamations which they uttered were feeble, and intermixed with ſighs and groans.

THE Duke of Alva's joy, ſoon after his entrance into Liſbon, was interrupted by intelligence which he received from Spain, that Philip had fallen ſick, and that his phyſicians were extremely apprehenſive of the iſſue of his diſtemper. Alva knew that the King's death, at this criſis, would probably render all his labours and ſucceſs in Portugal abortive, and therefore he ſuſpended for a while the proſecution of the war.

New preparations of Don Antonio.

IN this interval, Don Antonio exerted himſelf with great activity, and employed every expedient which he or his partiſans could deviſe to raiſe another army, flattering himſelf with the hope of being able to maintain his ground, till the French, or ſome other foreign power, ſhould be perſuaded to eſpouſe his cauſe.

cauſe. In the town of Santaren he had lately been received by the people as their only rightful ſovereign, and every mark of affection and reſpect had been ſhewn him; yet ſo great a change had his defeat and flight produced, that they refuſed to admit him within the town till he engaged that he ſhould not remain in it beyond a limited time; and, immediately after his departure, they ſent ambaſſadors to the Duke of Alva with an offer of ſubmiſſion. BOOK XVI. 1580.

FROM Santaren Antonio directed his courſe northwards, and in the province which lies between Minho and Douro, he prevailed upon eight or nine thouſand of the inhabitants to take up arms. With theſe tumultuary troops he procured admittance, partly by force and partly by perſuaſion, firſt into Aveiro, and afterwards into the city of Oporto; but in both theſe places he exerciſed a degree of ſeverity towards thoſe whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies, that was extremely ill calculated to increaſe the number of his friends.

HE remained at Oporto till he was informed that the Duke of Alva, being delivered from his anxiety with regard to the King's health, had ſent a part of his forces againſt him, under Sancio d'Avila, who was advancing towards the banks of the Douro with great rapidity.

BOOK XVI. 1580.

D'Avila had under his command only five or ſix thouſand horſe and foot, and Antonio's army conſiſted of about nine thouſand; but from paſt experience, the latter was deeply ſenſible of the difference between his undiſciplined forces and thoſe of D'Avila, and he was well acquainted with the character of that General; who, in the Netherlands and other places, had given the moſt conſpicuous proofs of military ſkill and intrepidity. His ſafety, he knew, depended on his preventing the Spainards from croſſing the Douro, which, for many miles above Oporto, was ſo deep and rapid, that without boats they could not attempt to paſs it. He exerted himſelf therefore with diligence in removing the boats and barks from the ſouth ſide of the river, and planted his troops at different places on the north ſide, to watch the motions of the enemy.

Progreſs of the Spaniards under D'Avila.

In the mean time D'Avila advanced, and took poſſeſſion of Villanova, a little town which ſtands oppoſite to Oporto. From that place he ſent a party of his troops in ſearch of boats; who returned without ſucceſs: but D'Avila being reſolved to omit nothing in his power to accompliſh his deſign, ſent them back with orders to purſue their march a great way further up the river, which they did accordingly, and collected about twenty boats, from

from places at ſo great a diſtance from Oporto, that Antonio had judged it unneceſſary to remove them. Still, however, moſt of the Spaniſh officers thought it impracticable to effectuate their paſſage with ſo ſmall a number; and it was impoſſible to bring them down the river, on account of ſome armed veſſels which Antonio kept ready to intercept them. To remedy this inconvenience, D'Avila ordered a part of his troops to march up to the place where the boats lay, and there he tranſported them, without oppoſition, to the other ſide. Theſe troops had time to intrench themſelves, before the enemy received intelligence of their landing; and, under the ſhelter of their intrenchments, the reſt of the forces were immediately carried over in the ſame way.

Defeat of Don Antonio.

THIS unexpected ſucceſs in the beginning of his enterpriſe gave D'Avila the higheſt aſſurance of victory, and demonſtrated how little reaſon he had to dread the efforts of an enemy, who, on ſo critical an occaſion, had ſhewn themſelves ſo deficient both in courage and vigilance. Their conduct afterwards was ſuch as their negligence and cowardice, in permitting the Spaniards to land in ſmall bodies, one after another, gave reaſon to expect. D'Avila drove them before him, till, with very little bloodſhed, they were entirely routed and diſ-

BOOK XVI. 1580.

perſed. This active General loſt no time in ſending a party of horſe in purſuit of Don Antonio, who had fled, accompanied by a ſmall number of his partizans, to Viana, a town on the ſea-coaſt near the northern frontier of the kingdom. Upon the approach of the Spaniards to that place, he attempted to make his eſcape by ſea, but was driven back by a violent ſtorm, which overtook him ſoon after he had embarked. He then diſmiſſed his attendants, and, diſguiſing himſelf in the dreſs of a common ſailor, eluded the ſearch of his purſuers. Philip had recourſe to his favourite weapon, a proſcription, and offered a reward of eighty thouſand ducats to any perſon who ſhould deliver him into his hands. Notwithſtanding this, ſo great was the averſion of the Portugueſe towards the Caſtilian government, or ſuch their attachment to Antonio, that no perſon was tempted by the proffered reward, either to ſeize him, or to give information of the place of his retreat. Antonio remained in the country between the Minho and Douro from November till May, living ſometimes in the houſes of the nobility, and ſometimes in monaſteries and convents, till he found an opportunity of going by ſea to France.

Entire ſubjection of Portugal;

After the diſperſion of the Prior's army, all the towns between the Minho and Douro opened

opened their gates, and ſubmitted to the conqueror. The regents appointed by the late King had ſome time before declared themſelves for Philip; and the Duke of Braganza, who ſeemed to have deſpaired from the beginning of being able to aſſert his wife's title to the throne againſt ſo potent an antagoniſt, had taken the ſame oath of fidelity and allegiance that was required from others. BOOK XVI. 1580.

THE colonies in America, Africa, and the Indies, which belonged to the crown of Portugal, quickly followed the example of the mother country; nor did Philip find employment for his arms in any part of the Portugueſe dominions but the Azores, where Antonio's agents had perſuaded the people to proclaim him King. Some troops which were ſent againſt them under an officer of the name of Valdes, were defeated by the Governor of Angra. In the following year Antonio obtained from the court of France a fleet of ſixty ſhips, with about ſix thouſand troops, which he landed on one of the iſles called St. Michael; but the Marquis of Santa Croce coming upon him with a fleet and army much ſuperior to his, obtained a deciſive victory over the French both by ſea and land, and afterwards reduced of the colonies.

BOOK XVI. 1580.

all the inhabitants to a ſtate of entire ſubjection and obedience [f].

THE ſucceſs of Philip's arms, and the great acceſſion of dominion which he had thereby acquired, occaſioned much anxiety to the neighbouring powers; and excited in the Dutch and Flemings the moſt alarming apprehenſions. They had with infinite difficulty withſtood his efforts, while he was employed in the purſuit of that plan of conqueſt which he had now carried into execution; and they ſeemed, at this time, to have much greater reaſon than ever to dread that they ſhould ſoon be obliged to ſubmit to whatever terms of peace he ſhould be pleaſed to preſcribe. Yet, as will appear from the ſequel, Philip's acquiſition of the Portugueſe dominions in India ſerved rather to expoſe him to the aſſaults of his revolted ſubjects, than to furniſh him with the means of ſubduing them, and contributed more than any other event to that wealth and greatneſs which they afterwards attained [g].

[f] Antonio eſcaped, and once more returned to France, and the Marquis de Santa Croce treated all his French priſoners as pirates, becauſe war had not been declared between France and Spain.

[g] Thuani hiſt. ſui temp. an. 1579-80. Cabrera, l. xiii. Ferreras, part xv. &c.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XVII.

WHILE Philip's arms were employed in subduing the Portuguese, the Prince of Parma had little room for the exertion of that activity and enterprise, by which his character was so eminently distinguished. Having, according to his late agreement with the southern provinces, dismissed his Spanish and Italian forces, he had thereby weakened his army so much as to render it unable to keep the field. The States of these provinces had laboured in vain to fulfil their part of the agreement. Their finances were exhausted, all their levies were carried on slowly, and their cavalry were so few in number, that they had been obliged to

1580. State of affairs in the Netherlands.

BOOK XVII. 1580.

to conſent that Farneſe ſhould retain ſome of the foreign horſe for his body-guard.

It was fortunate for him, that at this juncture the confederates were in a ſimilar ſtate of weakneſs. After the departure of their auxiliaries, only a ſmall number of troops remained; and after the revolt of ſo many of the nobility, and the death of the Count de Boſſut, which happened about this time, there was ſcarcely a ſingle officer, a native of the Netherlands, whom they could intruſt with the chief command. Matthias, a young man of no experience, bore the name, but was incapable of diſcharging the duties of governor. The whole weight of the adminiſtration lay upon the Prince of Orange, who was involved in an endleſs maze of the moſt intricate political negociations; and without his continual preſence, activity, and vigilance, the weak frame of the confederacy would quickly have fallen to pieces. William was therefore obliged to leave the direction of military affairs to the Count of Rennebergh, La Noue, and Norris; and although theſe men were not deficient either in ſpirit and intrepidity, or in prudence and good conduct, yet they neither had forces ſufficient to undertake any important enterpriſe, nor means to ſupport ſuch as were under their command [a].

[a] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. i.

THE

THE greateſt part of Brabant and Flanders had acceded to the union of Utrecht; but the ſtrength of the confederacy was not proportioned to its extent. The union of the ſeveral members was not ſufficiently compact, the adminiſtration was not properly aſcertained, and there was no common centre of power and authority eſtabliſhed. The troops were ſcattered in ſmall bodies throughout the provinces; no adequate proviſion was made for their pay; they lived at free quarters on the inhabitants; and, as luxury is the conſtant attendant of licentiouſneſs, the country was miſerably oppreſſed and plundered, and the people reduced to an incapacity of furniſhing the neceſſary contributions and ſupplies. In this ſituation, many perſons lamented that they had not embraced the opportunity lately afforded them of making their peace with the King; and they began to accuſe the Prince of Orange, who had adviſed them to reject the conditions that had been offered, of having preferred his private intereſt to that of the provinces. A ſpirit of diſcontent prevailed every where, except in Holland and Zealand, and it was generally believed, that they muſt ſoon either make their peace with the King of Spain, or elect ſome other ſovereign able to deliver them from the calamities with which they were overwhelmed. 1580.

THE

BOOK XVII.

1580.

The cauſes of their diſtreſs,

THE Prince of Orange was at this time in Ghent, employed in quieting the diſturbances above mentioned. At the deſire of the States he publiſhed a vindication of his conduct, together with his ſentiments concerning the cauſes of that diſtreſs in which the provinces were involved, and the means of their deliverance. As what he ſaid on this occaſion, and ſome weeks afterwards in the aſſembly of the States at Antwerp, contains an intereſting view of the ſituation of the Netherlands at the preſent period, it will not be improper to lay before the reader an abſtract of the principal particulars.

explained by the Prince of Orange.

HE began with complaining of the injuſtice of thoſe by whom he had been accuſed of having contributed to render ineffectual the late negociation for peace at Cologn. "For no perſon in the Netherlands, he ſaid, had greater reaſon than himſelf to wiſh for peace, ſince without it he could never hope to obtain either the liberty of his ſon, whom he had not ſeen for many years, or the recovery of the many rich inheritances which he had loſt, or the power of paſſing the remainder of his life, which now began to decline, free from labour and anxiety. But while for theſe reaſons, joined with compaſſion for the miſeries of the people, no perſon could more ardently deſire to have an end put to the war, he could not help

help conſidering war, with all its calamities, as infinitely preferable to the proffered peace: by one article of which many hundred thouſands of the inhabitants would have been driven into exile; and by another, all who remained, expoſed to the cruelty of the Spaniards, without any ſecurity either for their liberty or their lives, but the promiſes of thoſe by whom the moſt ſolemn oaths had been often violated. Theſe were not his ſentiments only of the peace that had been offered, but the ſentiments likewiſe of the States, and of all the ſincere friends of their country; nor could that detraction and calumny in which many perſons had of late indulged themſelves, be aſcribed to any other cauſe but the ſecret machinations of thoſe who, from ſelfiſh views, were deſirous of reducing the Netherlands under the Spaniſh yoke. BOOK XVII. 1580.

"THERE was much ground, he acknowledged, for complaining of the irregularities of which the troops had been guilty in ſome of the provinces; but nothing could be more unjuſt than to throw the blame on thoſe who were intruſted with the reins of government. The governors of States ought to be judged of ſometimes by the orders which they iſſued, and not by the ſucceſs with which their meaſures were accompanied; for what could it avail

BOOK XVII. 1580.

avail to interpoſe their authority, when they wanted power to enforce obedience? The diſregard ſhewn by many to the orders of the States and council, was the principal ſource of the evils complained of. In all the provinces, except Holland and Zealand, there was ſcarcely a ſingle town that would admit the garriſons appointed for its defence. To this was to be aſcribed that facility with which the enemy had made themſelves maſters of Alloſt, and other places; and it was owing to the ſame cauſe, that the troops were ſo much ſcattered throughout the provinces; the conſequence of which was, that the inhabitants of the country and of the open towns, ſuffering equally from the forces of the States that lived at free quarters upon them, and from the incurſions of the enemy, were totally diſabled from contributing their ſhare of the public expences. Thus there was no fund ſufficient for the regular payment of the troops; without which, it was in vain to expect either that they could be kept under proper diſcipline, or employed ſucceſsfully in any important enterpriſe.

"To remedy the abuſes complained of, the moſt effectual method was to place numerous garriſons in the frontier towns. For if this were done, the great number of ſmall garriſons would become unneceſſary; and the interior

interior parts of the provinces being thereby delivered both from the oppreſſions of their friends and the devaſtations of the enemy, the people would be more able to furniſh their proportion of the ſupplies, the troops would be paid more regularly, and diſcipline more eaſily maintained. BOOK XVII. 1580.

"THE States ought not however to ſtop there, but to exert themſelves ſtrenuouſly in drawing together ſuch an army of regular forces, as might face the enemy in the field, or at leaſt diſturb and interrupt their operations. It was their want of ſuch an army that had occaſioned the loſs of Maeſtricht; and, if care were not taken to ſupply that want, there was ground to apprehend, that the confederacy would ſoon be ſtript of all the towns in the inland provinces. But in order to carry this, or any other expedient into execution, it was neceſſary that, inſtead of ſuffering each town or province to diſpoſe of its troops and contributions as is thought fit, a ſenate or council ſhould be eſtabliſhed, with authority to determine every thing relative to the application of the public funds and the conduct of the war.

"He was far from intending that this council ſhould be inveſted with the power either of impoſing taxes or of enacting laws. He meant only that it ſhould be empowered to levy ſuch

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taxes as were impoſed, and to execute ſuch laws as were enacted by the general States of the union. That it ſhould not be ſubject to be controled by particular towns or provinces; nor obliged, in applying the public money, diſtributing garriſons, and regulating the motions of the troops, to have recourſe on every emergency to the States; but ſhould have ſuch a degree of diſcretionary power conferred upon it, as would enable it to ſeize the opportunities of action when they offered, and to conduct the operations of the war with ſecrecy and diſpatch."

William exhorts the confederates to renounce their allegiance.

BESIDES theſe and ſome other points of leſs importance, William ventured, both in the writing which he publiſhed, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the States, to explain his ſentiments concerning another ſubject, which he had long revolved, and concerning which he had ſounded the inclinations of many of the deputies. Having, before the preſent period, deſpaired that peace could ever be reſtored between the King and the confederated provinces, he exhorted the deputies to conſider, whether they were not now in a ſituation which required that, renouncing their allegiance to Philip, they ſhould transfer it to ſome other prince, who was able and willing to defend them.

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In the eyes of the greater part of Europe, this propoſal appeared in the higheſt degree audacious. Philip had, ever ſince his acceſſion, been conſidered as the moſt powerful prince of the age; he had lately received an immenſe increaſe of power by the acquiſition of Portugal, and men could not doubt that the revolted provinces muſt ſoon yield to his ſuperior arms, and bitterly repent of the offence which they had given him. His reaſons.

Reasons however were not wanting to ſhew, that the meaſure propoſed was the beſt which the people of the Netherlands could embraee in their preſent circumſtances. If they could have entertained the proſpect of obtaining peace on tolerable terms, it might be difficult perhaps entirely to vindicate their conduct. The evils which accompany a change of government are generally ſo great, and the obligation to maintain the preſent ſo ſtrong and powerful, that nothing but the moſt urgent neceſſity can ever juſtify a people for ſhaking off their allegiance to their legal Prince. But, from the iſſue of the late negotiations at Cologn, it was manifeſt, not only that Philip was unalterably fixed in his purpoſe to govern the Netherlands with deſpotic authority, in contradiction to their fundamental rights and laws; but that the utter extirpation of the proteſtants, who were now become

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become a moſt conſiderable part of the people, was a condition, without which he was determined never to be reconciled. Deſolation, therefore, and ſlavery, muſt have been the certain conſequences of peace, and no greater evil could be apprehended from a continuance of the war. "Even allowing (ſaid the Prince of Orange, in the aſſembly of the States) that the King ſhould be perſuaded, by any mediating power, to grant us ſuch conditions as our conſciences would ſuffer us to accept, yet what ſecurity can we obtain for his fulfilling them? He has, before this time, been ſet at liberty by the Pope from his moſt ſacred obligations. It is an eſtabliſhed maxim of Philip and his counſellors, that with heretics, ſuch as we are, no promiſes or oaths are binding. Although he were of himſelf inclined to fulfil his engagements, yet the Roman pontiff and the Spaniſh inquiſitors would reclaim, and ſoon perſuade him to alter his intention. It has been ſaid by ſome, continued William, that he is a Prince of a compaſſionate diſpoſition, and that we may ſafely rely upon his mercy. Of the truth of this, we can beſt judge from what we have ſeen and known. Do the deeds that have been perpetrated by his command, in India, in Italy, or in Granada, authoriſe us to form this favourable judgment of his character? Has not every corner of the Netherlands been overflowed with the blood of

of thouſands of our countrymen, barbarouſly butchered by his command? Are not all the neighbouring kingdoms filled with his ſubjects, who have been driven from their native land, either to enrich the countries that have afforded them protection, with our trade and manufactures, or to drag out a miſerable life in poverty and exile? We know how grievouſly our late conduct has offended him, and from what we have ſeen on former occaſions, we may judge of the meaſure of his reſentment. He may humble himſelf ſo far as to ſoothe us with the hopes of a more mild adminiſtration; but, we ſhould remember the diſcovery which we made lately, when, by the letters that were intercepted, it appeared, that, inſtead of the generous purpoſes that were pretended, nothing was meant but to employ ſome of the provinces as inſtruments of vengeance againſt the reſt."

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Oppoſition of the catholics.

INFLUENCED by theſe conſiderations, which ſhewed that Philip had entirely loſt the confidence as well as the affections of his Flemiſh ſubjects, a great majority of the deputies were inclined to renounce his authority. Some of the catholic members, however, prompted partly by their political principles, and partly by concern for the ſafety of their religion, had the courage to remonſtrate. They expatiated

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on the greatneſs of Philip's power, and the danger to which the States would expoſe themſelves, by adding ſo great an affront to their former provocations. And to their repreſentations on this head they ſubjoined, that they could not adopt the ſtrong meaſure that was propoſed, conſiſtently with their oath of allegiance; ſince the King was unqueſtionably their rightful Sovereign, they had all ſolemnly recogniſed his right; and the provinces were his inheritance, which he had derived from a long uninterrupted line of illuſtrious anceſtors [b].

But this reaſoning had no weight with the Prince of Orange, St. Aldegonde, and the other leaders of the proteſtants. They conſidered the breach between Philip and the confederated provinces, as irreparable; and knew, that long before the preſent period, he was animated againſt them with the moſt implacable reſentment. "It was too late," they ſaid, "to talk of keeping meaſures with the King; and no part remained to be eſpouſed, but to provide againſt the effects of his diſpleaſure. Nor was there the ſmalleſt reaſon for thoſe ſcruples by which the catholic members were diſturbed, either with regard to the law-

[b] Bentivoglio, part. ii. lib. i.

fulneſs,

fulneſs, or the expediency of renouncing their allegiance. Kings were inveſted with authority, not for their own ſakes, but for the intereſt of the people whom they were appointed to govern. If the rights of princes were to be inveſtigated, they would be found, in moſt of the kingdoms in Europe, to have been derived from the will of their ſubjects, who, grown impatient under the injuries of former princes, had taken from *them*, and given to their ſucceſſors, what they had an undoubted right to beſtow. A prince was indeed ſuperior to each individual in a ſtate; but neither his intereſt nor his pleaſure was to be put in the balance with the ſecurity and happineſs of the whole. On the contrary, he might be judged, and even puniſhed, for his abuſe of power, by the ſupreme council of the nation. If this truth were doubted of in other places, it could not be controverted in the Netherlands; where, till lately, both the name of King, and the meaſure of obedience which kings commonly require, were utterly unknown. In the Netherlands the engagements between the prince and the people were ſtrictly mutual; and in engagements of this ſort, it was a clear and univerſal maxim, that the infidelity of either of the two contracting parties abſolves the other from the ſacred obligation [c]."

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[c] Meteren, lib. x. and Grotius, p. 70.

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1580. Deliberations about electing another ſovereign.

THE proteſtant members, in compariſon with whom the catholics were few in number, being thus confirmed in their purpoſe of abjuring the dominion of Philip, the aſſembly proceeded next to conſider, whether they ſhould ſubſtitute another ſovereign in his place, or eſtabliſh a republican government, upon the plan of that confederacy which was already formed. The latter of theſe meaſures would have been embraced by all the deputies; by the proteſtants, from the conformity between the principles of a commonwealth, and thoſe of their religion; and by the catholics, from their perſuaſion that ſuch a government would neither be ſo highly affronting to the King, nor ſo effectually preclude the hopes of a future reconcilement. But the preſent feeble ſtate of the United Provinces obliged them to ſacrifice their inclination to their preſervation and ſecurity. From the repreſentation which the Prince of Orange made of the diſorders that prevailed, together with the view which he exhibited of their ſtrength and reſources, they were convinced, that however ſtrenuouſly they might exert themſelves, they would be able to wage only a tedious defenſive war; by which their ſtrength would be gradually waſted, till they were at laſt compelled to accept of ſuch terms of peace as the King ſhould be pleaſed to preſcribe. To have recourſe therefore to the aſſiſtance of ſome foreign

reign prince, ſeemed not only expedient, but neceſſary; and to engage the prince of whom they ſhould make choice to eſpouſe their cauſe with greater zeal and ſincerity than they had hitherto experienced in their allies, they reſolved to confer upon him the ſovereignty of the provinces, with all the prerogatives which had been enjoyed by the princes of the houſe of Burgundy. BOOK XVII. 1580.

Motives for chooſing the Duke of Anjou.

NOTHING now remained but to fix upon the perſon to whom the office of this high dignity ſhould be made. The Prince of Orange, having before-hand ſounded the inclinations of the Emperor and other German Princes, had found them utterly averſe to taking any concern in the affairs of the Netherlands. The Queen of England, and the Duke of Anjou, brother to the King of France, were the only princes at that time in Europe, between whom the States thought there was ground to heſitate; and they were determined to concur in giving the preference to Anjou, by the Prince of Orange; who, beſides repreſenting to them the neceſſity of electing a ſovereign who would reſide in the country, informed them that their making choice of the Duke would be highly acceptable to the Queen. "For ſhe had writ to him on the ſubject, and given him aſſurances of granting the States her aſſiſtance, in caſe

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the ſovereignty were conferred on one with whom ſhe had ſo much reaſon to expect to live on amicable terms [d]."

From this it ſhould ſeem, that William had offered to employ his influence in favour of Elizabeth; and it may be preſumed, that unleſs he had found her averſe to his propoſal, neither he nor the other proteſtant leaders would have been inclined to give the preference to Anjou. Very different motives indeed were aſſigned for the Prince's conduct, by his enemies. His principality of Orange, they obſerved, lay in the centre of France. He had lately married Charlotte de Bourbon, of the blood royal of that kingdom [e]. For many years he had maintained an intimate correſpondence with the leaders of the Hugonots; and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of enjoying the entire direction of the Duke of Anjou, a weak prince, who would probably be more attentive to his pleaſures, than to the affairs of government. Theſe intereſted conſiderations, it is likely, were not entirely without their influence; but the other circumſtance above mentioned ſeems to afford a ſtill more ſatisfactory account, ſince there was in reality

[d] Meteren, lib. x.

[e] Daughter of the Duke de Montpelier.

no room for hesitation between Elizabeth and Anjou; and Elizabeth, as will appear in the sequel, would certainly have rejected the sovereignty, in case an offer of it had been made to her. This political Princess expected to derive advantage from that animosity which the election of Anjou was likely to produce between the courts of France and Spain. And the Prince of Orange knew, that as it would be easier to reconcile the catholics in the United Provinces to the election of a prince of the same religion with themselves than to that of a protestant; so, without making such a choice, there was little probability that he should ever prevail on the Walloons to accede to the confederacy. Whatever were William's motives, a great majority of the deputies entered readily into his opinion, and they would have proceeded instantly to the election, had it not been deemed a matter of too much consequence to be decided without consulting their constituents.

In the mean time the operations of the war were not wholly discontinued, although neither of the two contending parties was in a condition at this period to make any great or vigorous exertion. By means of a stratagem conducted by Count Egmont, Farnese acquired possession of Courtray in Flanders, as he did by the like means of some other places. On the

La Noue taken prisoner.

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the other hand, Count Egmont and his brother were taken priſoners by La Noüe, in the town of Ninove: and not long afterwards La Noue himſelf loſt his liberty. This gallant officer having been attacked unexpectedly by the Marquis de Roubais, commander in chief of the Walloon forces, was overpowered by numbers, and obliged, through the diſadvantage of his ground, to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner of war. The States were ſenſibly affected by the loſs of a perſon of ſuch uncommon abilities, and they offered to give in exchange for him Count Egmont and the Baron de Selles, who had been taken priſoner at Bouchain. But the Prince of Parma refuſed to conſent to this exchange, ſaying, that he would never agree to give one lion for two ſheep. La Noue was conducted to the caſtle of Limburg, where he remained long; and, during his confinement, employed himſelf in writing thoſe military and political diſcourſes which were afterwards publiſhed, and much admired by his cotemporaries. Count Egmont's relations, and thoſe of de Selles, ſolicited Philip with great importunity to conſent to the exchange propoſed: but this Prince, who never hearkened to the voice of gratitude or compaſſion where his intereſt interfered, declined complying with their requeſt; and, rather than yield to the enemy ſo great an advantage

as

as the recovery of La Noue, he choſe to leave his friends to languiſh in priſon for ſeveral years. BOOK XVII. 1580.

THESE two noblemen bore this indignity with extreme impatience. De Selles, conſcious of having exerted himſelf with the moſt fervent zeal in detaching the Walloons from the revolted provinces, fell a ſacrifice to the indignation and chagrin which the King's ingratitude and his own unfortunate ſituation were calculated to inſpire. The ſame cauſes produced a different, but no leſs melancholy effect on Count Egmont, whom they deprived of the uſe of his underſtanding. Through the tender aſſiduous care of his ſiſter, whom the States permitted to attend him, he recovered from this diſtreſs. But Philip ſtill declined conſenting to the exchange till the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-four, when La Noue engaged in the ſtricteſt manner never to bear arms againſt him in the Netherlands; and the King of Navarre, the Duke of Lorrain, and others, became ſureties for his fulfilling this engagement. It is difficult to determine whether Philip's conduct afforded on this occaſion a more ſtriking proof of puſillanimity or ingratitude, while no ſtronger teſtimony could have been given of the extraordinary merit of La Noue, and the

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the dread which his enemies entertained of his abilities [f].

Defection of Count Renneberg.

ABOUT the time when La Noue was taken priſoner, the confederacy ſuſtained another loſs by the defection of Count Renneberg. This young nobleman having been appointed governor of Frieſland by the States, had ſubdued the cites of Deventer and Groningen, beſides ſeveral other places of conſiderable conſequence; and his zeal and ſervices were the more highly valued, as all his relations adhered to the Spaniſh intereſt, and he himſelf was of the catholic perſuaſion. But theſe circumſtances, which gave him ſo much merit in the eyes of his countrymen, were the means by which he was enticed to abandon the cauſe which he had hitherto ſo illuſtriouſly ſupported. The Prince of Parma readily perceived the advantage which they afforded for gaining him over from the confederates; and, with this view, he employed the Count's ſiſter and her huſband, the Baron de Monceaux, to offer him the following terms of accommodation: That he ſhould be confirmed in the government of Frieſland, and have that of Overyſſel annexed to it; that twenty thouſand crowns ſhould be immediately

[f] Bentivoglio, part. ii. lib. i. Reidanus, lib. ii. p. 39. and Meteren.

paid

paid him, beſides an annual penſion of twenty thouſand florins; that a town, of which he was feudal ſuperior, ſhould be erected into a marquiſate; and that he ſhould have two regiments of troops to be diſtributed throughout his governments, in whatever ſtations he ſhould think fit. Beſides theſe enticements, another object was held forth to him, more tempting perhaps than any of the reſt; he was flattered with the hopes of obtaining in marriage the Counteſs of Megen, of whom he was greatly enamoured, and who poſſeſſed one of the richeſt fortunes in the Netherlands. His religious principles conſpired with theſe allurements, and made him lend an open ear to his ſiſter's repeated repreſentations of the danger to which the catholic faith was expoſed, and of the deſigns formed by the Prince of Orange for its deſtruction. He heſitated however for ſome time, and trembled at the thoughts of the infamy in which he was about to be involved; but at laſt he conſented to accept of the terms propoſed, reſolving to conceal his having done ſo, till he ſhould take proper meaſures for delivering the towns and forts into the hands of the Spaniards. BOOK XVII. 1580.

His deſign could not entirely eſcape the penetrating eye of the Prince of Orange. Various circumſtances concurred to alarm Willam's

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William's apprehenſions, and make him reſolve, without delay, to prevent if poſſible, the fatal effects of the Count's intended treachery. He inſtantly went into Frieſland, under the pretence of quelling ſome diſturbances in that country, and ordered ſome officers to draw their troops together, and lead them againſt Lewarden, Harlingen, and Staveren. Theſe orders were executed with ſecrecy and diſpatch, and all the three places were wreſted out of the hands of thoſe to whom Count Renneberg committed them.

THE Count, who reſided at this time in Groningen, was thunderſtruck when he received intelligence of this diſaſter, which at once ſhewed him that his perfidy was detected, and put it in a great meaſure out of his power to fulfil his engagements to the Prince of Parma. Still, however, he was either not prepared, or he had not courage, to throw off the maſk. He complained loudly of the affront that had been offered him, and of the ingratitude with which his ſervices had been repaid. Among the officers who beheld his confuſion on this occaſion, there were two, to whom, as he knew their fidelity to the States to be inviolable, he had not communicated his deſigns. Theſe men, thinking it ſtill practicable to preſerve him in his duty, exhorted him to go immediately

immediately to the Prince of Orange, in order to clear himſelf from the ſuſpicions which were entertained againſt him. "This is the only expedient in your power," ſaid one of them, "if you are conſcious of innocence; nor can I doubt that you are, when I conſider, that by perſiſting to act the part which your duty and honour require, you muſt promote your intereſt more effectually, than by violating theſe ſacred obligations, and involving your name in perpetual infamy." Renneberg liſtened attentively to this diſcourſe, changed colour frequently, and at laſt burſt into tears. He repeated his complaints of the treatment which he had met with, but he would not explain his intentions, nor follow the counſel that was given him. The two officers then left him; and after acquainting the chief magiſtrate of what had paſſed, they withdrew privately from the city.

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By a popular and inſinuating behaviour, accompanied with ſtrong aſſeverations of the falſehood of the reports which had been propagated, Renneberg laid aſleep the ſuſpicions both of the magiſtrates and the people, till the plot which he had formed was ripe for execution. Having brought in ſecretly a body of troops, which he concealed in the palace, and put arms into the hands of his

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domeſtics; with theſe, and the catholic inhabitants devoted to the Spaniſh intereſt, he overpowered the garriſon; and having thus made himſelf maſter of the town, he proclaimed himſelf governor, in the name of Philip, and then mounted the fortifications with the troops which he had introduced.

Renneberg's remorſe and and death.

BUT he did not long enjoy any of the advantages which he expected to derive from his revolt, and ſome of them he never attained. The money promiſed him was never paid, and the Counteſs of Megen was given in marriage to another. His health being impaired by the fatigues which he had undergone in his military enterpriſes, the remembrance of his treachery filled his mind with anguiſh and remorſe, which preyed upon his ſickly frame, and carried him off in the prime of his age, lamented even by thoſe whom he had betrayed, who felt for his misfortunes, on account of his many amiable accompliſhments[8].

Election of Anjou.

THE loſſes which the confederacy ſuffered from La Noue's impriſonment, and the infidelity of Renneberg, ſerved only to confirm them in their reſolution of conferring the ſovereignty on ſome foreign prince; and the reaſons above

[8] Grotius and Meteren.

mentioned,

mentioned, joined to the influence of the Prince of Orange, determined the States of the ſeveral provinces and towns to give the preference to the Duke of Anjou. The election was made accordingly in due form by the General States, and a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to give intimation of it to the Duke, who readily accepted the offer, and conſented to all the conditions that were required. They were contained in a treaty ſigned by him and the ambaſſadors of the States at Pleſſiles-Tours, on the 29th of September; and the principal articles were thoſe which follow: That the States of the United Provinces having elected Francis de Valois, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, for their ſovereign, did thereby confer upon him all the titles and prerogatives which their former princes had enjoyed. That in caſe the Duke ſhould die without iſſue, the States might elect another ſovereign, and that the Netherlands ſhould in no event be annexed to the crown of France. That in caſe the Duke ſhould die leaving ſeveral ſons behind him, the States ſhould have power to determine which of them ſhould ſucceed him in his ſovereignty; and that if the prince whom they ſhould make choice of were under age, they might aſſume the government into their own hands till he ſhould arrive at the age of twenty. That the Duke ſhould maintain inviolate all the rights

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The conditions of it.

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and privileges of the people; that he ſhould ſummon the general aſſembly of the States to meet at leaſt once a year; and that, if he ſhould fail to iſſue letters of convocation, they ſhould themſelves have power, agreeably to ancient form and cuſtom, to meet together as often as they ſhould judge expedient. That the Duke ſhould fix his reſidence in the Low Countries; but if his affairs ſhould, on any occaſion, call him thence, he ſhould nominate for governor ſome nobleman, a native of the Netherlands, with the conſent and approbation of the States. That all his counſellors ſhould be natives of the provinces, except two or three of the French nation, who might be admitted into the council, provided the States ſhould give their conſent. That he ſhould make no innovation in religion, but afford his protection equally to the Proteſtants and Catholics. That Holland and Zealand ſhould, both in reſpect of government and religion, remain in their preſent ſtate, being obliged, however, to contribute their proportion of the ſupplies requiſite for the ſupport of the confederacy. That the Duke ſhould ſpare no pains to engage his brother the King of France to aſſiſt him in carrying on the war; that he ſhould accede to all the treaties that ſubſiſt between the States and foreign powers, and ſhould not himſelf form any new alliance without their conſent.

4. That

That all foreign ſoldiers ſhould be diſmiſſed on the firſt requiſition of the States. And laſtly, That if the Duke ſhould fail in performing any of the foregoing conditions, his right to the ſovereignty ſhould ceaſe, and the Provinces be no longer bound to yield obedience to his authority." BOOK XVII. 1580.

As this treaty was negociated in France, Philip complained to Henry of the breach of friendſhip in permitting it; and Henry affected to be much offended with his brother's conduct, but in reality did not feel the diſpleaſure which he pretended. On the contrary, he ſecretly rejoiced in the proſpect of being delivered from a brother, whoſe levity and caprice had given him much inquietude; and it is ſaid, he aſſured the States privately, that he would ſend them either troops or money, as ſoon as the troubles of his kingdom were compoſed.

Philip's proſcription of the Prince of Orange.

But whatever reaſon Philip had to be offended with the French monarch, he was much more highly incenſed againſt the Prince of Orange, whom he conſidered as the contriver, as well as the chief promoter of the revolution that had taken place. Having oftener than once attempted, by negociation and artifice, to free himſelf from an enemy,

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who had furniſhed employment to his ableſt generals and beſt diſciplined forces for ſo many years, he had recourſe, on this occaſion, to the ignoble expedient of exciting ſome wretch or deſperado to make an attempt upon his life. For this purpoſe he publiſhed an edict of proſcription againſt him, in which he accuſed him of having excited and fomented that ſpirit of diſcord, which had proved the ſource of ſo much miſery to the Netherlands; interdicted all the ſubjects of the crown of Spain from holding communication with him, and from ſupplying him with bread, or drink, or fire; and offered to any perſon, who ſhould deliver him dead or alive, or take away his life, the ſum of twenty-five thouſand crowns, beſides making him and his aſſociates noble, if they were not already noble, and granting them a full pardon of all crimes, however enormous, of which they had been guilty.

THIS practice of commanding aſſaſſination, almoſt unheard-of ſince the days of the Roman triumvirate, was ſuitable to the dark, revengeful, and ungenerous nature of Philip. The Prince of Orange could have retaliated the injury; but he ſcorned ſo ignoble a revenge, and choſe rather to reſt his defence on an appeal to the world for his integrity.

HIS

His Vindication and Apology, addreſſed to the aſſembly of the States, and of which he ſent copies to the ſeveral courts in Europe, is one of the moſt precious monuments in hiſtory. It contains an intereſting relation of many particulars, which throw light, not only on William's own character and that of Philip, but likewiſe on the characters of ſeveral of the other principal actors in the Netherlands. The author has, in ſome parts of it, indulged himſelf in the language of keen reſentment, and ventured to aſſert boldy ſeveral facts, of which the cotemporary hiſtorians have ſpoken with reſerve. Some allowance perhaps muſt be made for that juſt indignation with which he was inflamed; but when it is conſidered, that no perſon had better acceſs to information; that no prince poſſeſſed a higher character for ſincerity and truth, having never, in a ſingle inſtance, been convicted by his numerous enemies of inſincerity and falſehood; that the relation of the facts which he aſſerts was publiſhed at the time when they are ſaid to have happened, and when it was eaſy for the perſons accuſed, if accuſed unjuſtly, to have confuted him; that their intereſt and honour called loudly for a confutation; and yet, that no ſuch confutation, nor any vindication of their characters, which had been arraigned as odious at the bar of the univerſe, was ever attempted; when all theſe

BOOK XVII. 1580. His Apology.

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circumſtances are duly conſidered, there does not appear any ſufficient reaſon for calling in queſtion the facts contained in this Apology; although ſome of them are of ſuch a nature as to require the ſtrongeſt evidence to juſtify the reader for yielding his aſſent [h].

Adopted by the States.

THE conduct of the confederated States on this occaſion was ſuch as William had reaſon to expect. After employing ſeveral days in examining his Apology, they voted him an affectionate addreſs, in which they atteſted the falſehood of thoſe imputations on which Philip had founded his proſcription. They declared, that as the Prince had been regularly elected into the ſeveral offices which he held, ſo he had never accepted of any office but in conſequence of their moſt earneſt intreaties. They prayed him ſtill to exerciſe the authority with which they had inveſted him, expreſſed their gratitude for his many eminent ſervices to the commonwealth, and promiſed to yield a ready and cheerful obedience to his commands. They concluded with expreſſing their anxiety for his life, and made him an offer of maintaining a company of horſe-guards, of which they intreated him to accept, being perſuaded that on his preſervation their own ſecurity depended.

Dec. 17.

[h] An abſtract of his Apology is ſubjoined to the concluſion of this work.

IN

1581.

In a few days afterwards they gave him another proof of that zeal and ſincerity with which they had eſpouſed his cauſe. Their election of the Duke of Anjou was a virtual renunciation of their allegiance to their former ſovereign; yet all public acts ran as before in the name of Philip and that of the States; the oath adminiſtered to perſons entering upon public offices had not been altered, and the people in ſome of thoſe cities in the confederacy, which had conſented to Anjou's election, were extremely averſe to alter it, from that attachment which men often diſcover to exterior forms, even after the inſtitutions on which they were originally founded have been aboliſhed; but the States, ſenſible at laſt of the incongruity between theſe forms and the ſteps which they had lately taken, and apprehenſive of danger from leaving it in any reſpect ambiguous to whom the people owed their allegiance, agreed now to remove all ground of ambiguity by a ſolemn abjuration of Philip as their ſovereign.

Solemn renunciation of their allegiance to Philip.

An act of abjuration was accordingly paſſed, with great unanimity, in an aſſembly held on purpoſe at the Hague, conſiſting of deputies from Brabant, Guelderland, Zutphen, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Frieſland. In this act, after enumerating

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the principal grievances which had prompted them to form their preſent reſolution, they declared it to be a right inherent in every free people, to withdraw their allegiance from a Prince who obſtinately refuſes to fulfil the duty which he owes them; and much more from one who violates the fundamental laws, and acts the part of a tyrant and oppreſſor. They pronounced Philip to have forfeited for ever all authority in the Netherlands. They forbad all judges and others to uſe his name, arms, or ſeal; and they required the magiſtrates of towns, and all other perſons in public offices, to bind themſelves by an oath to oppoſe him and his adherents to the utmoſt of their power.

THESE reſolutions were carried into immediate execution. All Philip's ſeals were broken, all commiſſions and letters patent in his name were cancelled, and the new oath was adminiſtered to every perſon who poſſeſſed any civil or military employment. It was not without difficulty that the magiſtrates in ſome towns were perſuaded to take this oath. Some remaining ſcruples of conſcience, ariſing from a regard to their former oaths, gave uneaſineſs to ſeveral; and others doubted of the expediency of ſo ſtrong a meaſure at the preſent criſis, on account of the ſhips and merchandiſe belonging to

to the people of the Netherlands, which were in the ports of Spain. But no pains were ſpared to remove theſe objections, and at laſt almoſt the whole inhabitants of the above-mentioned provinces entered into the views of the States, and took the oath that was preſcribed them [1].

Departure of Matthias.

ABOUT this time Matthias left the Netherlands, after having reſided there between three and four years, without having acquired either reputation to himſelf, or any advantage to the people whom he had been called to govern. He had employed all his influence to perſuade the States to make choice of him for their ſovereign; but the motives above explained having determined them to give the preference to the Duke of Anjou, it ſhould ſeem that the Prince of Orange had been able to ſatisfy Matthias as to the neceſſity of that meaſure, ſince he remained in the country for

[1] Upon a repreſentation of the Prince of Orange, the States formed at this time ſeveral uſeful regulations relative to the adminiſtration of juſtice, to the finances, and the troops. That council of State likewiſe was eſtabliſhed, of the neceſſity of which William had laboured to convince them, which was inſtituted partly to remedy the inconveniences ariſing from the ſlowneſs with which the deliberations of the States were unavoidably conducted, and partly to ſerve as a check upon the future ſovereign. Grotius An. l. iii. Meteren, &c.

a con-

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a conſiderable time afterwards, and accepted of an annual penſion of fifty thouſand guilders from the States [k].

During the courſe of theſe civil and political tranſactions, the troops were not wholly unemployed. In Frieſland, the King's forces were commanded by Schinch and Verdugo, between whom and Colonel Norris and Count Hohenloe ſeveral ſharp rencounters paſſed, with various ſucceſs; but the only important event which happened at this time in the northern provinces, was the acquiſition of Breda, into which the Spaniards were treacherouſly admitted in the night by ſome of the garriſon, whom the agents of the Prince of Parma had found means to corrupt [l].

The Prince himſelf was, in the mean time, intent on the reduction of Cambray. But not having a ſufficient number of troops to carry on the ſiege with vigour, he was obliged to convert it into a blockade. D'Inchi, the governor, had recourſe for relief to the Duke of

[k] Matthias had afterwards a better fortune. His brother reſigned to him the kingdom of Hungary in 1608, and that of Bohemia in 1611, and the year following he obtained the Imperial crown. Strada, lib. vii. Meteren, p. 317.

[l] Meteren, p. 313.

Anjou,

Anjou, and was warmly ſeconded in his application by the States and the Prince of Orange. Anjou perceiving how deeply his honour was concerned to gratify this firſt deſire of his new ſubjects, publiſhed at the court of France his intention of attempting to raiſe the ſiege. This was no ſooner known, than a great number of the nobility flocked from all parts of the kingdom to his ſtandard. With their aſſiſtance, he collected in a few days an army of near twelve thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, and marched directly towards Cambray. The Prince of Parma, too prudent to contend with an army, which, beſides being greatly ſuperior to his own in number, was conducted by a brave and warlike nobility, quitted his intrenchments and retired. In this manner was Cambray delivered, after it had been blockaded for ſeveral months, during which the inhabitants had been reduced to great diſtreſs. Anjou having brought along with him an amply ſupply of proviſions, it was immediately introduced; and ſoon after, he made a magnificent entry into the city, amidſt the applauſes of the people, who ſaluted him the Protector of their Liberty. He then laid ſiege to Chateau-Cambreſis, and quickly compelled the garriſon to ſurrender [m].

[m] Meteren, p. 315. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. ii.

THIS

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THIS ſucceſs which attended Anjou's firſt enterpriſe, afforded inexpreſſible pleaſure to the confederate provinces, and ſerved to heighten their expectations of his future government. He was earneſtly entreated by the States to improve the preſent opportunity, and to advance with his army towards Flanders. But it was not in his power, he told them, to comply with their requeſt. All his troops but a few were volunteers, who had engaged in his ſervice only for a ſhort time, and for the ſingle purpoſe of the relief of Cambray. He could not prevail upon them to remain with him much longer; and he had not yet provided money for their pay. But he hoped to return ſoon with a powerful army; and he would in the mean time employ his utmoſt influence to intereſt his brother and the Queen of England in their cauſe.

Anjou ſolicits aid from his brother.

THERE was not wanting powerful motives to induce the French King to grant Anjou that aſſiſtance for which he now applied; ſince, beſides being delivered from the fickle, reſtleſs ſpirit of a brother, who had greatly increaſed the troubles of his reign, he would have thereby avenged himſelf of Philip, who had ſecretly undertaken the protection of the Catholic league, which, as will be afterwards related, had been lately formed by the Duke of

of Guiſe, on pretence of providing for the ſecurity of the Catholic religion, but in reality to controul the ſovereign's authority. But Henry was not in a condition at this time to make an open breach with Philip. By his indolence and voluptuouſneſs, added to the numberleſs calamities in which his kingdom was involved, his finances were exceedingly reduced; and the King of Navarre on the one hand, and the Duke of Guiſe on the other, furniſhed more than ſufficient employment to all the policy and power which he poſſeſſed. Promiſes therefore of future aid were all that Anjou could obtain from him, and his diſappointment determined the Duke to ſet out immediately for England, where, it ſhould ſeem, he had better ground to hope for aſſiſtance than in his native country.

ELIZABETH had for ſome time paſt appeared to lend a favourable ear to a propoſal of marriage which he had made to her; and his expectations were at preſent raiſed to the greateſt height. On his arrival in England, ſhe gave him the moſt gracious reception. Soon afterwards, he ordered the miniſters to prepare the marriage-contract; and in the preſence of many ſpectators, after a long diſcourſe with him apart, ſhe took a ring

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from her own finger, and put it upon his; which both the ſpectators and the Duke interpreted as a declaration of her conſent. It is impoſſible to believe with ſome hiſtorians, that Elizabeth meant only to amuſe Anjou, and thereby to advance ſome political deſign. It is inconceivable how any deſign whatever could be promoted by carrying her diſſimulation to ſo great a length. This wiſe Princeſs, notwithſtanding the many extraordinary accompliſhments which adorned her character, was not exempt from the weakneſſes that are peculiarly incident to her ſex. Flattered by the court which Anjou had long aſſiduouſly paid her, ſhe appears to have entertained the moſt partial ſentiments of affection towards him, and ſeriouſly to have intended to liſten to his propoſal. But at laſt her prudence, her ambition, and that love of independence which ſhe had cheriſhed through her whole life, prevailed over the temporary paſſion into which ſhe had been betrayed. She made an apology to Anjou for her change of reſolution, and gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his aſſiſtance and ſupport in his new dominions. The marriage was no more mentioned, and the Duke, after the ſtay of three months in England, ſet ſail for the Low Countries; eſcorted by a fleet, on board

board which there was a great number of nobility and gentry, whom the Queen had desired to attend him, as a proof to his new subjects, that although the intended marriage had not taken place, yet she was deeply interested in his prosperity.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XVIII.

AFTER a paſſage of three days, the Duke of Anjou landed on the tenth of February at Fluſhing. From Fluſhing he went to Middleburgh, and was conducted from thence by a fleet of fifty ſhips of war to Antwerp. The banks of the Scheld, the entrance into the town, and the ſtreets which led to the palace, were lined by the citizens, to the number of twenty thouſand in arms; and no expence was ſaved, which a wealthy commercial city could afford, to expreſs their attachment and reſpect. After having taken the uſual oath to maintain their rights and privileges, he received from the States the oath of allegiance; and then

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1582. Anjou's arrival in the Netherlands.

BOOK XVIII. 1582.

entered upon the ſovereignty, while all around him wore the face of happineſs and joy.

In Antwerp, the public exerciſe of the catholic religion had for ſome time paſt been prohibited. But now, in order to gratify the new ſovereign, it was permitted in one of the churches; and all catholics were allowed to worſhip there, according to the rites of their religion, upon condition that they ſhould abjure the King of Spain, and ſwear allegiance to the Duke. A few perſons only accepted of this indulgence, while the greater part choſe rather to forego the privilege held forth to them, than ſo ſolemnly renounce their former ſovereign. On this occaſion the States, as well as the Duke, were not a little alarmed; and thought it neceſſary without delay to provide againſt the danger that might ariſe from perſons who gave ſo clear a diſcovery of their diſaffection to the preſent eſtabliſhment. They firſt publiſhed *one* edict, impoſing a fine of two hundred guilders on thoſe who ſhould decline taking the oaths; and ſoon afterwards another, by which the recuſants were baniſhed from the Netherlands [a].

Attempt to aſſaſſinate the Prince of Orange.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, that joy which Anjou's arrival had diffuſed throughout

[a] Meteren, p. 325.

the

the provinces was interrupted, by an attempt which was made not many days after his inauguration, upon the life of the Prince of Orange. The deſign was firſt conceived in Spain, by a man of the name of Iſonca; and it was ſuggeſted by him to Gaſpar Anaſtro, a Spaniſh banker in Antwerp, of ruined circumſtances, as an expedient for retrieving his affairs. To induce Anaſtro to undertake the execution of the bloody purpoſe, Iſonca ſent him a ſign-manual of the King, in which Philip engaged to pay him eighty thouſand ducats as ſoon as the aſſaſſination ſhould be perpetrated. Anaſtro had not courage himſelf to execute ſo bold and deſperate an enterpriſe, and therefore he communicated Iſonca's propoſal to John Jauregui, a menial ſervant in his family, a young Biſcayan, of a thoughtful melancholy diſpoſition, whom he knew to be both truſty and audacious. With this young man Anaſtro found there was little need for perſuaſion. "I am ready," ſaid he, "to perform inſtantly what the king ſo earneſtly deſires. I deſpiſe equally the proffered reward, and the danger to which I ſhall be expoſed; for I know that I ſhall die. I only aſk that you will aſſiſt me with your prayers to God, and employ your intereſt with the King, to provide for my father in his old age." Jauregui was the better qualified to ſucceed in his deſign, as he ſpoke

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the German language fluently, and was in no danger of being known to be a Spaniard. He was confirmed in his purpoſe by a prieſt of the name of Timmerman; from whom he received abſolution of his ſins, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that by putting to death ſo great an heretic as the Prince of Orange, he would infallibly ſecure the favour of God and everlaſting happineſs.

UNDER a full conviction of the truth of what the prieſt had declared, this deluded wretch ſet out for the caſtle, and having taken his ſtation near the door of the apartment in which the Prince had dined, he watched the opportunity of his coming out; when ſtepping up to him, he diſcharged a piſtol at his head, loaded with a ſingle ball. The ball entered a little beneath his right ear, and paſſing under his palate, and upper teeth, came out on the other ſide. William was deprived for a moment of his ſenſes; which he no ſooner recovered, than he deſired his attendants to ſave the life of the aſſaſſin. But the guards, tranſported with ſudden rage, had diſpatched him. The appearance of the Prince's wound, from the effuſion of blood, was extremely formidable, and as he was deprived of his ſpeech by the ſame cauſe, the ſpectators believed him to be at the point of death. The news of this diſaſter ſpread quickly over

over the town, and excited, in all ranks of men, inexpreſſible anguiſh and deſpair. The citizens poured in crowds from every quarter to learn the particulars of that calamity which had befallen them; and, as if each individual had loſt his own proper parent, as well as the common parent of the ſtate, there was nothing to be heard but the voice of ſorrow and lamentation. BOOK XVIII. 1582.

In the midſt of this diſtreſs, a rumour was propagated, that the French were the authors of the murder, and that it had been perpetrated in order to deliver the Duke of Anjou from the reſtraints which had been impoſed on his authority. This report gained eaſy credit from the people. Their grief was now converted into fury, and they flew to the palace with an intention to execute a ſpeedy vengeance.

In the mean time it was known at the caſtle, that the aſſaſſin was a Spaniard, from papers found in his pocket by Maurice the Prince's ſon [b]. Of this diſcovery, notice was immediately carried to the Prince, who had now recovered his ſpeech; and he was informed, at the ſame time, of the danger to which Anjou

[b] Maurice was at this time only fifteen years of age, but was even then remarkable for his attention and ſagacity.

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and his countrymen were expoſed. This intelligence affected William in the moſt ſenſible manner; and notwithſtanding his preſent critical ſituation, he wrote, with his own hand, a billet in exculpation of the French. By this, joined with the pains which were taken by St. Aldegonde, the people were undeceived and pacified. The aſſaſſin's body having been expoſed to public view, it was ſoon diſcovered that he had been a domeſtic of Anaſtro. Anaſtro himſelf had fled; but his ſecretary, whom he had left behind to wait the iſſue of Jauregui's attempt, and Timmerman the prieſt, were ſeized, and having confeſſed their guilt, they were condemned to ſuffer death. At the deſire of the Prince of Orange, who never neglected an opportunity of inculcating humanity upon his countrymen, no tortures were inflicted on them. They were firſt ſtrangled and then quartered, and their heads and limbs fixed over the gates of the city [c].

WILLIAM's recovery was dubious for ſome time, on account of the difficulty which the phyſicians found in ſtopping the effuſion of

[c] They remained there till the city fell into the hands of the Prince of Parma, when they were taken down by the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, and buried with every mark of veneration which their ſuperſtition could deviſe.

blood;

blood; but after all their applications had failed, they made a number of perſons ſucceed one another in preſſing the mouth of the wound with their thumbs without intermiſſion, for the ſpace of ſeveral days and nights; and this expedient proved at length ſucceſsful [d]. BOOK XVIII. 1584.

ANASTRO having gone from Antwerp to Tournay, where the Prince of Parma then reſided, affirmed confidently that William had died of his wound. Farneſe too raſhly believed him, and wrote letters to the citizens of Antwerp, and other places, exhorting them to return now to their duty, ſince that perſon was removed by whom they had been led aſtray. Theſe letters would not have been calculated, in the preſent diſpoſition of the people, to promote the Prince of Parma's deſign, even if the information on which he proceeded had been true; but as they did not arrive till after the people were delivered from their apprehenſions with regard to William's life, they ſerved only to excite their ridicule and indignation [e].

[d] While his life was in danger, a public ſupplication was offered up to heaven for his recovery; and when it was accompliſhed, a ſolemn thankſgiving was celebrated.

[e] Bentivoglio, p. 263. Meteren, p. 326. Thuanus, lib. lxxv.

BOOK XVIII.

1582. Return of the Spaniſh troops.

MEANWHILE the operations of the war were not diſcontinued by either of the contending parties. The States acquired poſſeſſion of the town of Alloſt, and the Prince of Parma made himſelf maſter of Steenwick and Lierres. He was ſoon after enabled to act with greater vigour than the weakneſs of his army had hitherto permitted him to exert. Having conſented, with great reluctance, to the diſmiſſion of the Italian and Spaniſh troops, he had employed all his addreſs to convince the Walloons that it was in vain for them to expect, with their own forces alone, to bring the war to a concluſion. He found it extremely difficult to overcome their diffidence, and was obliged to obſerve the utmoſt caution, in order to avoid awakening thoſe ſuſpicions which they had long indulged againſt the Spaniards. At length, however, he accompliſhed his deſign through the Marquis de Roubais, who, as was mentioned above, had acted a principal part in promoting the reconcilement of the ſouthern provinces. With this nobleman, Farneſe had formed an intimate connection, and had laboured aſſiduouſly to make him ſenſible how neceſſary it was that the troops ſhould be permitted to return. The Marquis, flattered with the familiarity to which he was admitted, and prompted by the view of advancing his credit with the King, yielded at laſt to the Prince's ſolicitations, and then

then employed his influence with the States ſo effectually, that they not only conſented to the return of the forces, but even petitioned the King for it in the moſt earneſt terms [f].

As nothing could be more acceptable to Philip than this application, orders were immediately ſent to Italy for the march of four regiments of veterans, conſiſting of near ten thouſand men; who, together with ſeveral thouſand Burgundians and Germans, arrived in the Netherlands towards the end of the ſummer one thouſand five hundred and eighty-two. After the arrival of this reinforcement, the Prince of Parma's army amounted to ſixty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; but finding it neceſſary to leave more than the half of that number in garriſons, he could keep only about thirty thouſand in the field; and a part of theſe was employed in Frieſland under Verdugo, while the reſt were under his own immediate command in the ſouthern provinces. With theſe laſt he took Chateau Cambreſis, Ninove, Gaeſbec, and ſeveral other places; he attacked the army of the States, which he compelled to retire under the canon of Ghent; and then he laid ſiege to Bruſſels, but the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the difficulty of finding proviſions

[f] Bentivoglio, p. 258.

in

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in a country which had been ſo long the ſeat of war, obliged him to deſiſt from his attempt, and to put his troops into winter-quarters [8].

States of the confederacy.

THE United States, on the other hand, diſcovered great alacrity and zeal in ſupporting their new-eſtabliſhed goverment. They raiſed their yearly revenue from two millions four hundred thouſand, to four millions of guilders, with which they maintained, beſides their native troops, a conſiderable number of Britiſh, French, and German forces. But ſo great a proportion of theſe forces was neceſſary for defending the forts and towns, that no army could be aſſembled ſufficient to contend with the enemy in the field, nor even to raiſe the ſiege of any of thoſe places which the Prince of Parma attempted to ſubdue. Thus the number of towns belonging to the confederates was daily diminiſhed, while their acquiſitions were few and inconſiderable. And as the enemy was now much more formidable than before, they were filled with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions when they looked forward to the opening of a new campaign. Anjou, who participated with them in the anxiety which ſo critical a ſituation was fitted to excite, did everything in his power to procure from France

Anjou ſolicits aſſiſtance from his brother.

[8] Meteren, p. 334.

the

the ſuccours which he had given them reaſon to expect. After many delays, the Duke de Montpenſier and Mareſchal Biron arrived in the Netherlands in the end of November, with between ſeven and eight thouſand men, partly Swiſs and partly French. With this reinforcement, under ſo able a General as Biron, Anjou perceived that he might retard the progreſs of the Prince of Parma's arms, but that he could not hope either to expel him from his new conqueſts, or to bring the war to a concluſion; he therefore renewed his ſolicitations at the court of France, and endeavoured to engage his brother more heartily to eſpouſe his cauſe. 1582.

Henry's deliberations.

HENRY'S counſellors were much divided in their opinions with regard to the meaſures proper to be purſued on this occaſion. By ſome of them the preſent opportunity was repreſented as the happieſt that could offer for uniting the Netherlands to the crown of France. But, as theſe men did not intend to advance the intereſt of Anjou, they did not employ any argument addreſſed to Henry's friendſhip or generoſity; and, inſtead of exhorting him to afford his brother aid ſufficient to eſtabliſh himſelf ſecurely in his new ſovereignty, they adviſed him only to give him ſuch aſſiſtance as might enable him to ſtop the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms. To this counſel

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counſel they ſubjoined, that Henry ought to maintain a fleet in the Channel, and an army on the frontier of Luxemburgh, in order to prevent the Prince of Parma from receiving ſupplies from Spain or Italy. And in this poſture, they ſaid, he ought to wait, without expoſing his troops to the hazards of war, till the contending parties ſhould exhauſt their ſtrength, when it would be eaſy for him to drive the Spaniards out of the Netherlands, and his brother and the States, in order to obtain his protection, would gladly accept of whatever terms he ſhould think fit to impoſe. But ſuch a plan, which the great abilities of Farneſe would have diſconcerted, was too refined, and required too much labour, patience, attention, and expence, to be reliſhed by a Prince ſo indolent and voluptuous as Henry, who was ſo improvident of the future, and whoſe affairs were ſo exceedingly involved.

Henry refuſes to grant his requeſt.

He liſtened with leſs reluctance to a propoſal made him by ſome others of his counſellors, who being well acquainted with his character, perceived that his heſitation proceeded in a great meaſure from the ſhame of deſerting his brother, and that in reality he wiſhed for a pretence to reject his application. Theſe men, ſecret enemies to the Duke, and partiſans of Philip, whoſe money it was believed they had accepted,

accepted, were afraid to declare openly againſt a meaſure in which the Heir-apparent of the crown, ſupported by the Queen-mother, was ſo deeply intereſted. They affected to approve highly of the granting Anjou's requeſt, provided the King could comply with it conſiſtently with the intereſt of his kingdom. But both the intereſt and honour of France, they thought, required that the States ſhould previouſly agree, that, in the event of the Duke's death without iſſue, the King and his heirs ſhould ſucceed him in the ſovereignty of the Netherlands. They knew that the States would not conſent to this condition. It was, however, propoſed to them, and having met with that reception from them which there was reaſon to expect, notice was ſoon afterwards ſent to Anjou by the Queen-mother, and his other friends, of the unſucceſsful iſſue of their endeavours to ſerve him[h].

Anjou's attempt on Antwerp and other places.

This diſappointment, which rendered it impoſſible for him to fulfil the expectations of his new ſubjects, was calculated to give him the moſt ſenſible concern. A candid and grateful Prince would have thought himſelf bound more ſtrongly then ever to exert himſelf in their behalf; and, by a careful attention

[h] Thuanus, lib. xxvii. c. ix. Meteren, lib. xi.

to

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to their intereſts, joined to a faithful diſcharge of his other obligations, to atone for his failure in that engagement which he was unable to perform. Widely different were the ſentiments which aroſe in the mind of the faithleſs ungenerous Anjou. Apprehenſive that the Flemings, diſguſted on account of their diſappointment in thoſe hopes of aſſiſtance with which they had been deluded, might withdraw their allegiance from him, and reconcile themſelves to their former ſovereign; he reſolved to prevent them from executing this deſign, in caſe they ſhould conceive it, and in violation of all the oaths which he had ſworn ſo lately, he formed a plan of depriving them of their liberty, by making himſelf maſter of all the towns into which his troops had already found, or could by force or ſtratagem find, admiſſion.

THIS ſtrange deſign, it is ſaid, was firſt ſuggeſted to him by his partiſans in France, in order to induce Henry to grant him the aſſiſtance which he ſolicited; and it was ſtrongly recommended by Fervaques, and other French nobility who had accompanied him to the Netherlands. Theſe men were all real or pretended friends to Anjou, and affected to be deeply concerned for his honour, with which they perſuaded him, that ſuch a limited authority as he poſſeſſed was utterly incompatible.

Had they been his moſt inveterate enemies, they could not have adviſed him to a meaſure more likely to prove fatal to his intereſt. Yet this weak Prince, without communicating his intention to Biron or Montpenſier, who would have refuſed their conſent, readily embraced the counſel that was given him, and immediately proceeded to deliberate with his adviſers concerning the means of carrying it into execution[i]. BOOK XVIII. 1582.

It was agreed, that the French troops, in all the towns where they were quartered, ſhould, under the pretence of a mutiny, take up arms, and expel the garriſons: and in this manner he got poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, Dixmude, Dendremonde, and ſeveral other places; but his principal object was the city of Antwerp. It would have been in vain, he believed, to attempt making himſelf maſter of ſo ſtrong a place by open force, with ſo ſmall a number of his troops as were within the city; and therefore, in conjunction with his counſellors, he exerted all his ingenuity in contriving how force and artifice might be united. On this occaſion, Fortune ſeemed to favour his deſign. Towards the middle of January, after the froſt had continued for ſome time, the States ſignified their intention to have his troops employed 1583.

[i] Thuanus, l. xxvii. c. 10. Meteren, p. 336.

in

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in an expedition againſt ſome of the enemy's towns in Frieſland, which, on account of their wet ſituation, were acceſſible only in the time of froſt. Anjou pretended to enter with great alacrity into this deſign. He immediately gave orders to have his troops conducted to the villages in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, where he held them ready to march upon the ſhorteſt notice; and, under various pretences, he brought to his court at Antwerp almoſt all the French nobleſſe, who had been diſperſed throughout the Netherlands.

Being thus prepared, his plan was to ſeize upon the gate of Cronenburg, which lay next to the palace, with his body-guards, and to introduce his army ſilently in the night; but, on the day immediately preceding, an obſcure report of his intention was circulated among the citizens, and a general alarm excited. The Prince of Orange and the magiſtrates thought it proper to inform the Duke of this report, and propoſed to hang up lights in the city, and to ſtretch chains acroſs the ſtreets and gates, in order to quiet the apprehenſions of the people. Anjou could not, without confirming the ſuſpicions entertained againſt him, refuſe his conſent to this propoſal; but as he poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of his mother's duplicity and artifice, he aſſumed, with ſo much ſeeming ſincerity,

rity, and appearance of indignation againſt the authors of the report, accompanied with ſuch ſtrong profeſſions of attachment to the Netherlands in general, and the city of Antwerp in particular, that not only the magiſtrates, but even the Prince of Orange was almoſt perſuaded of his innocence. The ſtreets however were barricaded, the whole town was illuminated, and many of the citizens were under arms.

THESE circumſtances having made it neceſſary for Anjou to change his plan, he went early next morning to the Prince of Orange's apartment in the caſtle, and after informing him that he had ordered his troops to be drawn out for a general review before their departure for Frieſland, he deſired the Prince to accompany him to the field. Whether William had ſtill any ſuſpicion of his deſign is uncertain; but he declined complying with his requeſt, alleging the badneſs of the day, and the ſtate of his wound, as an excuſe for his refuſal; and he adviſed the Duke to put off the review till ſome future day, when the people would be entirely delivered from thoſe apprehenſions with which they were at preſent diſquieted. Anjou pretended that he would comply with his advice, and left him; but ſoon afterwards he ſent him notice, that, finding

BOOK XVIII. 1583. finding the day cleared up, he ſtill reſolved to hold the review, as he had firſt intended. He then gave orders to remove the barricades in the ſtreet which leads to the gate of Ripdorff, and ſet out, attended with a retinue in arms, amounting to between two and three hundred men.

He had no ſooner paſſed the gate and the draw-bridge, than his attendants fell, ſword in hand, upon the guards, and having butchered ſome of them, obliged the reſt to take ſhelter in the guard-houſe. The orders which he had ſent to the camp had been punctually executed. The whole army was in motion, and ſeventeen companies of foot, ſix hundred lances, and four troops of horſe were at hand, and ready to enter the city. They ruſhed in impetuouſly; and, having ſet fire to ſome houſes near the gate, as a ſignal for the reſt of the troops to haſten forward, they ſpread themſelves over the town, crying out, "May the maſs flouriſh; the city is taken."

The citizens had been in ſome meaſure freed from their apprehenſions, by Anjou's proteſtations on the evening before; but they had not been put entirely off their guard. They flew inſtantly to arms, and quickly formed a cloſe compacted body, of ſufficient ſtrength to make head

head againſt the enemy. Their number was ſoon augmented by others, who flocked to their aſſiſtance from every quarter of the city. None declined expoſing themſelves to danger, or truſted to others for their defence. They remembered the devaſtations which had been committed ſome years before by the mutinous Spaniards, and were perſuaded, that they could not now avoid a repetition of the diſaſters which they then ſuffered, by any other means, but by exerting their utmoſt vigour, and ſhewing, each man for himſelf, a contempt of danger. Animated therefore by the dread of that ruin with which their fortunes, their friends, their wives and children, were about to be overwhelmed; and fired with indignation againſt their ungrateful, perfidious enemy, they advanced with a degree of fury which the French troops were unable to withſtand. Many of the French had entered the houſes for the ſake of plunder. Theſe men were quickly ſurrounded by the citizens, and put to the ſword: the reſt were driven back towards the gate. There they expected, either to be ſupported by their friends from the camp, or to make their eſcape out of the city; but having neglected to ſecure the portcullis, the ſoldiers, who had ſhut themſelves up in the guard-houſe, had ſallied out and let it down. By this circumſtance the French were thrown into deſpair, and the

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reſolution and ſpirit of the citizens augmented. The ſituation of the former was now truly deplorable: diſappointed of that aſſiſtance from without on which they had depended, and crowded together into a narrow ſpace; while the citizens, who purſued, poured their ſhot upon them without a moment's intermiſſion; they fell in heaps above one another, till the gate was choked with the dead and wounded.

THE citizens made then a deſperate attack on a body of French troops who had mounted the rampart, and either put them to the ſword, or tumbled them headlong from the wall. Of this ſcene, Anjou himſelf, and the Swiſs troops, who had attempted in vain to burſt open the gate, were ſpectators. At firſt he thought it was the citizens that were thrown down, and believed it muſt have been by accident that the portcullis had been ſhut. He could not ſuppoſe that the inhabitants, unaccuſtomed to the uſe of arms, could, in the ſpace of an hour, have diſcomfited ſo great a number of diſciplined forces; but he was ſoon undeceived in his conjecture. The citizens, ſtill inflamed with indignation, on account of his unprovoked, atrocious attempt, pointed their cannon towards the place where he ſtood, and killed a conſiderable number of the Swiſs.

THE

THE Prince of Orange, who lodged in the caſtle, at the oppoſite end of the city, remained ignorant for ſome time of what had paſſed, and when intelligence of it was brought him, he at firſt believed it to be ſome accidental ſcuffle between the inhabitants and ſoldiers; but at laſt receiving more certain information of the truth, he ſet out with a part of the garriſon for the ſcene of action. In his way thither he met Fervaques advancing towards him with a body of French troops, which had been left behind in the palace. At the firſt onſet, Fervaques himſelf was taken priſoner, and his troops diſheartened by the loſs of their commander, and ſtill more by the conſciouſneſs of their treachery, were eaſily overcome. William then proceeded to the gate of Ripdorff, where he arrived in time to prevent the citizens from wrecking an uſeleſs, though merited, vengeance upon the priſoners.

NOTHING could be more affecting, ſays an hiſtorian[i] whoſe information was derived from eye-witneſſes, than the ſpectacle at the gate: the dead bodies piled one upon another to a conſiderable height, and the wounded mingled with the dead, weltering in blood, uttering the moſt doleful lamentations, and ſtruggling to diſengage themſelves from each other, or

[i] Van Meteren.

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from the bodies of their ſlaughtered friends. At the Prince's interceſſion the lives of all the priſoners were ſpared, and many of the wounded recovered, through the attention and tenderneſs of thoſe to whoſe care they were committed.

THE number of the French found dead in different parts of the city, amounted to fifteen hundred, among whom were upwards of three hundred perſons of diſtinction. And the priſoners, including thoſe who ſurrendered to the Prince of Orange, were computed at two thouſand. So great was the loſs which Anjou ſuſtained from this ill-concerted enterpriſe; while only one hundred of the inhabitants were killed, and the ſame number wounded. It would be impoſſible, notwithſtanding the deſperate bravery of the citizens, to account for this extreme diſparity betwixt the loſs on the one ſide, and that on the other, were it not for a circumſtance which one of the hiſtorians has mentioned[k], that the French, either from negligence, or their General's confidence of ſucceſs, had brought very little ammunition with them, and, during the greateſt part of the combat, ſtood expoſed to the enemy's fire, without having any other weapon to defend them but their ſwords.

[k] Reidan.

IT

It is eaſier to imagine than deſcribe the confuſion with which Anjou muſt have been overwhelmed, when he reflected on the egregious folly into which he had been betrayed. He paſſed the night in a neighbouring fort called Berchem, where there was neither furniture nor proviſions. From that place he wrote a letter to the ſenate of Antwerp, in which, after boaſting abſurdly of the proofs which he had given of his attachment to the Netherlands, he ſubjoined, That although the misfortune which had happened, had ariſen from the unworthy treatment which he had met with, yet he was deeply penetrated with ſorrow and repentance on account of it; that he ſtill retained all his wonted affection towards them, and had ſent them this letter, partly to inquire what were their intentions with reſpect to him, and partly to deſire that they would ſend him his papers, furniture, and ſervants; hoping that theſe laſt, who were entirely innocent of what had been done, ſhould not ſuffer any harm[1].

To this letter the ſenate made no return, but referred it to the conſideration of the Prince of Orange and the States; and in the mean time Anjou, being utterly deſtitute of every thing neceſſary for the ſupport of his troops, left Berchem and directed his march towards

[1] Meteren, p. 339.

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Dendremonde. He intended to have gone thither by the ſhorteſt road, but the citizens of Antwerp having ſent a number of armed veſſels to oppoſe his paſſage over the Scheld, he was obliged to turn back, and to fetch a compaſs round by Duffel, Mechlin, Rimenant, and Vilvorden. In this march, beſides ſuffering the greateſt hardſhips in his own perſon, he loſt a conſiderable number of his troops by an inundation of the river Nethe. From Duffel he wrote letters to the governors of Bruſſels, and other places, in which he threw the whole blame of what had happened on the inhabitants of Antwerp, and repreſented the affair as a tumult, in which his troops, when upon their way to the camp, had interfered, but which had ariſen in conſequence of the ill uſage which he himſelf had received. This diſingenuous conduct ſerved to exaſperate the people of Antwerp more than ever againſt him, and they publiſhed a vindication of their conduct, ſetting forth, "That they had in all reſpects demeaned themſelves towards him as became good and faithful ſubjects. They had given him even more than their proportion of the ſupplies, and had raiſed the ſum of ſeventy thouſand guilders; which, inſtead of applying it to pay the arrears due to the army, he had diſtributed among his French and Swiſs troops to encourage them in their late atrocious attempt.

tempt. Nothing could be more palpably unjuſt than to impute that attempt to the citizens of Antwerp, ſince, on the ſame day, the French troops had offered the ſame violence in other places. By the kind providence of Heaven, the plan concerted to enſlave them, had been fruſtrated, in ſuch towns as were of the greateſt importance; and it was their earneſt prayer, that the Duke might become ſenſible of the iniquity of his conduct, and reſolve for the future to govern the provinces conformably to thoſe fundamental laws of the conſtitution, which, at his acceſſion, he had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve."

THE news of what had happened, having been quickly diffuſed throughout the provinces, excited univerſal aſtoniſhment and indignation. The Prince of Parma, deſirous to improve the opportunity which was preſented to him, attempted to reconcile the people to their ancient government. But his endeavours were not more ſucceſsful now than formerly. The confederates were deaf to his propoſals; and even refuſed to appoint ambaſſadors to treat with him concerning peace.

Deliberations of the States.

THE States in the mean time were deliberating concerning the letter which Anjou had written to the ſenate of Antwerp. Had they liſtened

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liſtened to that juſt reſentment with which they were inflamed, they would not have heſitated to declare that he had forfeited the ſovereignty. But they conſidered how extremely critical their ſituation was become, while Anjou was maſter of ſeveral of their fortified towns, and the Prince of Parma hovered round them with an army againſt which they were unable to contend. In this perplexity, they entreated the Prince of Orange, who had hitherto remained ſilent, to aſſiſt them with his counſel. No perſon felt more ſenſibly for the diſtreſs into which Anjou's temerity had plunged the confederacy; and no perſon had a juſter ground of provocation. It was by his means chiefly that Anjou had obtained the ſovereignty; and yet it could not be doubted, that in ſending Fervaques with troops to the caſtle, as above related, the intention was to deprive him either of his life or of his liberty. Notwithſtanding this, William had at firſt interpoſed to prevent the citizens from uſing any violence againſt the priſoners; and he now gave the following conciliatory advice to the States in writing, as he generally did in matters which he deemed of high importance.

It was not, he ſaid, without reluctance, that he had reſolved to deliver his opinion on the difficult queſtion which was now before

them, as it had of late been the practice of many perſons to blame him for every misfortune that had befallen the confederacy. Even if he had been inveſted with abſolute authority, their cenſure would have been unjuſt, ſince the iſſues of things belong to God only, and no man can anſwer for the ſucceſs of the beſt concerted enterpriſe. Conſidering his age, and the injuſtice with which he had been treated, it would be prudent perhaps not to expoſe himſelf again to the obloquy of his detractors. But his concern for the proſperity of the Netherlands would not ſuffer him to maintain that ſilence, which a regard to his perſonal eaſe and ſecurity required; eſpecially as they aſſured him, that they would take in good part, and interpret favourably, whatever counſel he ſhould offer.

NOTHING was farther from his intention than to attempt to juſtify that atrocious violence which had been lately perpetrated: on the contrary, he thought the conduct of the Duke had been ſuch as proved, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, that he had forfeited his title to the ſovereignty. Notwithſtanding this, no perſon, he believed, who ſuffered himſelf to conſider attentively the courſe of events ſince their firſt connection with the Duke, would deny that this connection had been attended with advan-

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advantages. By his troops, not only the ſiege of Cambray, but that of Lochem too, had been raiſed, and the whole province of Guelderland thereby ſaved from the depredations of the enemy. In conſequence of his election, peace had been eſtabliſhed between the Catholics and Proteſtants in France, and the latter left at liberty to enter into the ſervice of the States. Not to mention what they ought perhaps to prize more than any thing elſe, that, by electing the Duke for their Sovereign, not only the authority, but the name and arms of Spain, had been aboliſhed in the Netherlands, and a foundation laid, upon which their liberty might be firmly eſtabliſhed, provided they ſhould exert themſelves with their wonted zeal and vigour. When theſe things were conſidered, there would not appear much ground for the cenſures paſſed on thoſe by whom the Duke's election had been promoted. But whether they had judged wiſely or unwiſely, the States muſt now reſolve either to make peace with the King of Spain, or truſt for the future to their own ſtrength, or enter into terms of accommodation with the Duke.

With regard to the firſt of theſe, he obſerved, that beſides that all the ſame reaſons ſtill ſubſiſted againſt returning under the Spaniſh yoke, which had formerly determined them

them to ſhake it off; it muſt appear prepoſterous to think of reconciling themſelves as ſubjects to a Prince, whoſe name and enſigns were obliterated, and whoſe authority they had ſo ſolemnly renounced. There was truth in what ſome perſons (friends of Spain more than their native country) had ſuggeſted, that it was more deſirable for the people of the Low Countries to be ſubject to a diſtant, than to a neighbouring Prince, as it muſt be more difficult for the former, than for the latter, to encroach upon their liberty. But this maxim could not, in the preſent divided ſtate of the Netherlands, be urged in favour of the dominion of the King of Spain; who, beſides poſſeſſing a powerful army ready to overwhelm them, was abſolute maſter of ſeveral of the provinces; and was therefore, in reality, much nearer to the confederacy than any other Prince.

PROMPTED by this and other conſiderations, they had beſtowed the ſovereignty on the Duke of Anjou; and *he*, it could not be denied, had forfeited his title to it. This was acknowledged even by the Duke himſelf, who was now ſenſible of his folly. But notwithſtanding his repentance, there was much ground to doubt of the expediency of entering into a ſecond agreement with one by whom the firſt had been ſo groſsly violated. There was ground

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ground to dread that the ſame evil counſellors, by whom the Duke had been once deluded, might again deceive him; and there was reaſon to ſuſpect, that confidence could not be ſoon reſtored between the French troops and the people of the Netherlands.

On the other hand, he thought it his duty to call their attention to the conſequences which muſt attend their refuſing to be pacified. The Duke would deliver all the fortified towns which he poſſeſſed, into the hands of the Spaniards. Both he and his brother, the King of France, would from friends be converted into the moſt bitter enemies; from whom all that miſchief might be expected, that can be contrived and executed by thoſe who are ſtimulated by ambition, and inflamed with animoſity and reſentment. An immediate ſtop would be put by the French King to their commerce with his ſubjects; and while he would ſhut his harbours againſt their ſhips, he would open a paſſage through his dominions for the troops of the King of Spain. Even the Queen of England, though highly diſſatisfied with the Duke's conduct, yet were ſhe to be informed that the States had obſtinately refuſed to be reconciled, would be exceedingly offended. And if they ſhould loſe her favour, as well as that of France, to what other friend could they have recourſe,

recourſe, either able or willing to ſupport them? They muſt for the future truſt for their preſervation entirely to themſelves. They muſt, without delay, make a numerous augmentation of their forces; and yet he knew not where theſe forces could be raiſed, ſince the devaſtation of the war had been ſo great in every province of the confederacy, that ſcarcely a ſufficient number of the people remained to carry on their trade and manufactures. In order to maintain ſuch an army as was neceſſary, much larger ſums of money were requiſite, than had hitherto been collected. What theſe were, would appear from the ſcheme which he now delivered to them, containing a particular deſcription of all the ordinary and extraordinary expences of the war. From the difficulty which they had experienced in procuring money for paying the garriſons alone, they might judge whether they were poſſeſſed of funds adequate to the expence both of theſe and of an army in the field; without which, it was impoſſible that they could for any conſiderable time reſiſt the enemy.

He was far from cenſuring thoſe who adviſed them to truſt to the Almighty for protection. The counſel of theſe perſons was pious and well-intended; but he thought, that to engage in any difficult enterpriſe without the

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the means of carrying it into execution, was more properly to tempt the Divine Providence than to truſt in it; and that thoſe only could be ſaid to exerciſe a proper truſt in God, who, after embracing the moſt favourable opportunities of action, had recourſe to Heaven by prayer, to crown their undertakings with ſucceſs. It behoved them therefore ſtill attentively to conſider their ſtrength and their reſources; and if, without foreign aſſiſtance, they ſhould find them ſufficient for the purpoſes which they had in view, they would, in his opinion, judge wiſely in reſolving to retain the ſovereignty in their own hands.

THERE was a time when the people of the Netherlands might have eſtabliſhed themſelves in this happy ſtate of freedom and independence; when, in ſpite of the King of Spain, they might have expelled his brother John of Auſtria from the provinces. But our preſent ſituation, continued William, is widely different from what it was at the time of which I ſpeak. A powerful Spaniſh army, ſeconded by thoſe who were then our friends, is at our gates. The ſtrength of the confederacy is impaired. Even with the aſſiſtance of the French troops, we have been unable to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy. If nevertheleſs you ſhall, upon inquiry, find that you are able, by making greater

greater exertions, to do more alone, than when you were aſſiſted by others, baniſh for ever all thoughts of an accommodation with the Duke, and reſolve henceforth, alone and unaſſiſted, to oppoſe both him and the Spaniards. Proceed inſtantly to the execution of your deſign. But I dread that before you can make the preparations neceſſary for entering upon action, before you can collect either the troops or the money requiſite, and even before you can appoint a General to command your forces, many of your towns will be taken; and many of them, deſpairing of relief, will enter into terms of accommodation with the Spaniards. For theſe reaſons you will judge, perhaps, that in your preſent circumſtances the wiſeſt reſolution which you can form, is to enter into a treaty of reconcilement with the Duke. And if this ſhall be the reſult of your deliberations, I have only one other counſel to ſuggeſt, which is, to give particular attention in your new agreement to prevent the fortified towns from being expoſed on any future occaſion to that danger from which the city of Antwerp has ſo narrowly eſcaped; and for this purpoſe to require, that no officer or ſoldier ſhall be admitted into garriſons without taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the States[o]."

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[o] Van Meteren and Thuanus.

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1583. Reconcilement of the States with Anjou. March 8th.

THIS reaſoning of the Prince of Orange produced the deſired effect upon a great majority of the deputies, and a negotiation was immediately begun, and ſoon afterwards a treaty of peace and reconciliation was concluded on the following conditions: That all the French priſoners in Antwerp ſhould be ſet at liberty, the Duke's papers and other effects reſtored, and ninety thouſand guilders given him for diſcharging the arrears due to his troops. That he ſhould deliver up all the towns which he had ſeized, retire to Dunkirk with four hundred foot and three hundred horſe, and remain there till every point of difference ſhould be entirely ſettled; that he ſhould renew the oath which he took at his inauguration, to govern the provinces according to the fundamental laws; and that all his troops ſhould take an oath of allegiance to the States, binding themſelves to ſerve him faithfully againſt their enemies, and never to be concerned in any attempt to the prejudice of their authority.

Attempts on the life of the Prince of Orange.

As in promoting this agreement the Prince of Orange appears to have acted under a conviction, that there was no other expedient by which the confederacy could be ſaved from ruin; ſo, in being able to perſuade the States to adopt it, he gave the moſt convincing proof of his unlimited influence over that aſſembly.

The people in general, eſpecially in Flanders and Brabant, were extremely averſe to any accommodation. Their hereditary antipathy againſt the French had, on this occaſion, riſen to the greateſt height. Many of the deputies too were animated with the ſame averſion and reſentment; nor can it be doubted, that if they had not been prevented by that deference which they had long been accuſtomed to entertain for William's opinion, they would have proceeded againſt Anjou to the utmoſt extremities, and have reſolved never more to acknowledge his authority. The Spaniards were not ignorant by whom the States had been prevented from forming this reſolution; and they were now convinced, that, till the Prince of Orange were removed, no event, however promiſing, would induce the confederates to return to their allegiance. They had recourſe therefore to the diſhonourable means of private aſſaſſination; and to attempt it, different perſons were inſtigated about this time by Philip or his miniſters; one of them by Philip himſelf, according to the declaration of the criminal; but more probably by his miniſters at Madrid; another by his ambaſſador at the Court of France; and a third by the Marquis de Roubais and the Prince of Parma. The conſpiracy of the two former was detected, and they ſuffered death; and the laſt, a French

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officer, whom Roubais had taken priſoner, and who had pretended to agree to the propoſal in order to procure his liberty, gave information to William's friends of the arguments which had been employed to perſuade him, and ſhewed, by his conduct afterwards in the ſervice of the States, the ſincerity of his abhorrence of that unhallowed deed which he had been ſolicited to perform[p].

Diſcontents of the people.

THE danger to which the Prince was ſo often expoſed from the inveterate reſentment of the Spaniards, ought to have endeared his perſon and counſels to his countrymen, and they produced this effect in a high degree upon all thoſe who were able to comprehend the wiſdom and moderation with which he had conducted their affairs. But great numbers having formed their judgment of Anjou's election to the ſovereignty, from the late unhappy conſequences with which it had been accompanied, could not refrain from aſcribing ſome ſiniſter intention to thoſe who had been active in promoting it. They were incapable of diſcerning the ſtrength of the motives by which William had been prompted to adviſe the States to renew their agreement, and they even foſtered ſuſpicions of his having attached himſelf to the Duke, with a view to the attaining of ſome

[p] Meteren, p. 348.

private

private advantage. This ſpirit of diſcontent was not confined to the vulgar, but likewiſe infected ſeveral of the deputies of the States, who became ſullen and refractory; and by their contentious oppoſition to almoſt every meaſure that was propoſed, diſturbed and retarded the deliberations of that aſſembly. A great majority, however, of the members agreed to employ the French and Swiſs troops under Mareſchal Biron, whom the Duke had appointed to command them. Biron having not only had no concern in the attempt upon Antwerp, but having been conſidered by Anjou as one by whom it would have been oppoſed, was the moſt unexceptionable perſon to whom the command could have been committed, and he had been long diſtinguiſhed for his military ſkill and experience. At firſt his arms were attended with ſucceſs. He compelled the fort of Wouda to ſurrender, and with inferior forces he repulſed the Prince of Parma, who had attacked his lines near the town of Roſendal. But it was impoſſible for him with ſo ſmall an army to ſtop the progreſs of the Spaniards in other places, or to face them in the open field. Farneſe therefore puſhed his conquests with great rapidity, and made himſelf maſter of Endove, Dieſt, and Weſterlo, while he practiſed every art of negotiation and intrigue againſt Bruges, Ghent, and other places.

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DURING the courſe of theſe tranſactions, the Duke of Anjou fell into a lingering illneſs at Dunkirk, which was generally ſuppoſed to be the effect of thoſe hardſhips which he ſuffered in his retreat from Antwerp. Whether he believed himſelf inſecure in his preſent ſituation, while the Prince of Parma was ſo briſkly carrying on his conqueſts in the neighbourhood, or found that his health required a change of air, and a relaxation from the fatigues of buſineſs, or whether he had conceived hopes at this time of obtaining, by a perſonal interview with his brother, more powerful aſſiſtance than he had hitherto received, does not appear with ſufficient evidence. But whatever was the motive which determined him, he left Dunkirk, and ſet out for France.

Progreſs of the Prince of Parma's arms.

THE Prince of Parma was no ſooner informed of his departure, than he quitted Herentals, and led his troops to Dunkirk. The States, aware of the importance of that place, ordered Mareſchal Biron to march with all his forces to its relief. But ſuch was the reſentment which the Ghenteſe and other Flemings had conceived againſt the French, that no conſideration could prevail upon them to ſuffer Biron to paſs through their territories. They had reſolved, they ſaid, never to accede to the late agreement with the Duke, whom they could not truſt,

truſt, and they would not be indebted to his troops for their defence. The conſequence to be expected followed. The garriſon of Dunkirk, which conſiſted wholly of French, gave up the town in a few days to the Prince of Parma. He then laid ſiege to Nieuport, and took it with ſo much facility as gave ground for a ſuſpicion of treachery on the part of the garriſon. He intended next to have inveſted Oſtend, but having learnt that the Prince of Orange had taken particular pains to provide for its ſecurity, he relinquiſhed his deſign; and having turned his arms againſt Dixmude and Meningen, he ſubdued theſe and ſeveral other places with a degree of celerity with which the people of the Netherlands had never been accuſtomed to ſee any military enterpriſes carried on. But his ſucceſs ſerved only to dazzle and confound the confederates, inſtead of opening their eyes to the fatal conſequences of that diſcord which had expoſed ſo great a number of their aſſociates an eaſy prey to the Spaniards. Except augmenting the garriſons of two or three towns, in the preſervation of which ſome of the deputies were perſonally intereſted, no vigorous reſolution of any conſequence was formed by the States, although they held their ſeſſions daily, and were daily alarmed with freſh accounts of ſome new loſs which the confederacy had ſuſtained.

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1583. Injurious ſuſpicions againſt the Prince of Orange.

ABOUT this time an accident fell out at Antwerp, which ſtrongly marks the ſpirit by which the Flemings were actuated on this occaſion. The Prince of Orange having given orders for building an additional rampart for the greater ſecurity of the caſtle, ſome ſecret partiſans of Spain took occaſion from thence to inſinuate, that he intended to deliver the fortreſs to the French, and was now preparing it for their reception. The people too eaſily believed this injurious ſuggeſtion; and having taken up arms, they ran tumultuouſly to the caſtle, with a reſolution to expel the garriſon. William immediately preſented himſelf before them. The ſight of a perſon whom they had been ſo long accuſtomed to revere, joined to the evidence which they received on the ſpot of the utter falſehood of that report which they had ſo raſhly credited, appeaſed the fury of the greater number, and quelled the tumult. But there were ſome among them more audacious and malignant than the reſt, who called him by the contumelious names of deſerter and traitor of his country. This treatment, ſo unmerited from a people whom he had ſaved from ruin, affected him in the moſt ſenſible manner. He admoniſhed the magiſtrates to take cognizance of the licentiouſneſs of which they had been ſpectators. But finding that, on account of the great number of the guilty, they

they were afraid to exercise their authority, he left Antwerp, and retired into Zealand, after having delivered directions to the magistrates in writing, for the government and defence of the city, and nominated the Sieur de St. Aldegonde, chief magistrate, or governor, for the ensuing year [q].

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1583. He retires to Zealand. July 22.

William did not intend, by changing the place of his residence, to withdraw his attention from the southern provinces. He interested himself as much as ever in their affairs, and meant only to provide for his own security, and to remove the assembly of the States (which was summoned to meet at Middleburg) to a situation in which the deputies would not

[q] Of the affection of the maritime provinces towards the Prince of Orange, and of the trust and confidence which they reposed in him, he received about this time a conspicuous proof, by a resolution into which all the cities entered, except two, of creating him Earl of Holland and Zealand, with all the powers and privileges which belonged to that ancient dignity. How far the Prince himself contributed to their forming this resolution, does not appear from the cotemporary historians. It did not contradict the treaty between the United States and the Duke of Anjou; as, by that treaty, the maritime provinces had only bound themselves to contribute their share of the public expences. Yet it was matter of some obloquy against the Prince, of whom it was said, that he had not been inattentive to his private interest.

be

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be ſo much influenced by the emiſſaries of Spain, nor ſo much diſturbed in their deliberations by the tumultuous diſpoſition of the people. He ſtill employed all his intereſt to reconcile the cities of Brabant and Flanders to the continuance of the French troops in the Netherlands. And his endeavours proved effectual with Bruſſels, and ſome other towns which lay neareſt to the enemy; but Ghent, and moſt of the other cities remained as inflexible as ever, and reſolved never to admit the French within their territories, or to be indebted to them for protection. The States therefore found it neceſſary to give orders for the departure of theſe troops, at a time when every friend of his country, who ſuffered himſelf to reflect on the critical ſituation of the confederacy, thought that the provinces ought rather to have made conceſſions to Anjou and the French King, in order to induce the latter to augment their number. Biron put them on board tranſports at Birvliet, and thence conducted them by ſea to France.

Auguſt 27. THE Spaniards were now at liberty to purſue their conqueſts almoſt without oppoſition. Farneſe immediately formed the blockade of Ipres. Alloſt was ſold to him by an Engliſh and Walloon garriſon for the payment of their arrears. The country of Waes, and the town of

of Ruplemonde on the Scheld, were ſubdued, and Zutphen too was taken by ſurpriſe; the conſequence of which was, that the Veluwe, an extenſive territory between the Iſſel and the Rhine, was laid open to the incurſions of the enemy. BOOK XVIII. 1583.

In the mean time the ſecret partiſans of Spain were daily increaſing in Bruges, Ghent, and other places. Many perſons had declared themſelves againſt Anjou with ſo much violence, that they dreaded his return. Many were intimidated by the rapidity of the Prince of Parma's conqueſts. Some having been intruſted with the public money, were afraid of being called to account for their management of it by the Prince of Orange and the States, and all of them were allured to their firſt allegiance by the moderation with which Farneſe treated ſuch as had already ſubmitted to him, and the ſtrict fidelity with which he adhered to his engagements.

Among the perſons who, prompted by theſe motives, were deſirous of again reducing their country under the Spaniſh government, the Prince of Orange had the mortification to find his brother-in-law, Count Heremberg. This nobleman, weak, inconſtant, and governed by his wife, who was the Prince's ſiſter, but had

for

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for ſome time been at variance with her brother, had formed the deſign of delivering the province of Guelderland, of which he had been appointed governor, into the hands of the Spaniards. His plot having been detected before it was ripe for execution, he was ſeized and impriſoned by an order of the States. But having been afterwards ſet at liberty upon his parole, he gave irrefragable proof of his guilt by flying over to the enemy.

Treachery of the Prince of Chimai.

THE Prince of Chimai's intrigues in Flanders were more ſucceſsful than thoſe of Heremberg. He was the eldeſt ſon of the Duke d'Arſchot, and had been educated in the Catholic faith; but ſome time before the preſent period, he had openly profeſſed the reformed religion, and attached himſelf with much apparent zeal to the party of the Prince of Orange and the States. Conſcious that both his religion and patriotiſm were mere grimace, he had laboured with conſummate artifice to remove any ſuſpicions that might be entertained of his ſincerity. He was perpetually ſurrounded with the proteſtant miniſters, with whom he lived on the moſt familiar terms; and he publiſhed an apology for his conduct, in which, with the higheſt encomiums on the proteſtant faith, he mingled the bittereſt invectives againſt Philip, beſtowing on him every reproachful epithet which

which the moſt implacable hatred could ſuggeſt. By theſe means he had inſinuated himſelf into the favour of great numbers of the proteſtants, and particularly thoſe of Bruges, who conferred upon him the government of their town. The Prince of Orange having received information of a ſecret correſpondence which he held with the Catholics, had at firſt attempted to perſuade the people of Bruges from electing him their governor, and he now gave ſecret inſtructions to the magiſtrates, to employ Colonel Boyd, a Scotch officer, who commanded one of the regiments in garriſon, to deprive Chimai of his authority. Boyd affected to enter heartily into the plan propoſed, but he betrayed the magiſtrates, and gave immediate information of their deſign to Chimai; who, through an artful miſrepreſentation of their conduct, was enabled to expel them from the city. He then put others into their place who were devoted to his intereſt, and ſtill pretended all his wonted zeal for the reformed religion, till having obliged many of the principal citizens to withdraw, he made himſelf maſter of the town, and then delivered it to the Prince of Parma, upon condition that the Prince ſhould confer upon him the government of the province. To the obtaining this requeſt, which was granted by Farneſe, and confirmed by Philip, Chimai thought himſelf the better entitled, as he had contributed in the ſame perfidious

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fidious manner to the reduction of Ipres, which after a blockade of nine months had lately been obliged to ſurrender. Not long after this he threw off the maſk of religion, and both he and one of the proteſtant miniſters, who had been a principal inſtrument of his deceit, publicly abjured Calviniſm, and declared themſelves converts to the popiſh faith [r].

AN attempt of the ſame nature with that of Chimai on Bruges was made by Imbiſe, and other agents of Farneſe, to reduce Ghent and Dendremonde under the Spaniſh power. In order to ſecond their endeavours, the Prince of Parma had pitched his camp between Ghent and Bruges; but the plan which had been formed for the ſurpriſe of Dendremonde was diſcovered, and Imbiſe, the principal contriver, who was the chief magiſtrate of Ghent, a factious and turbulent old man, was condemned and executed.

Death of Anjou.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the Prince of Orange was employed in eſtabliſhing a thorough reconcilement between the States and the Duke of Anjou, whoſe return with a numerous army William conſidered as the only remedy for the increaſing calamities of the commonwealth. There was more reaſon now than ever to expect that Anjou would ſoon be

[r] Meteren, p. 357. Thuanus, lib. lxxix. c. xv.

able

able to fulfil his engagements. Through the Queen-mother's interceſſion, Henry had openly declared his reſolution to exert himſelf with vigour in the ſupport of his brother's intereſt in the Netherlands. An ambaſſador had been ſent by the States to congratulate with the Duke on this deſirable event, and to acquaint him of their having conſented to certain conditions which he had propoſed. His joy on this occaſion was extreme, and he now indulged the moſt flattering expectations; but he did not long ſurvive theſe events, which gave him ſo much pleaſure. Having never enjoyed perfect health ſince the hardſhips which he underwent in his retreat from Antwerp, he was ſeized about this time with an illneſs which might have been eaſily accounted for, from the unſound ſtate of his conſtitution; but which, agreeably to the practice of the age, was attributed to poiſon[s]. Whatever was the cauſe, he died in great pain, at Chateau-Thierry, on the 10th of June 1584, at the age of thirty.

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Beginning of June.

Such was the concluſion of the reſtleſs life of this Prince, whoſe weakneſſes and vices were equally pernicious to himſelf, to the Netherlands, and to France. Improvident of the

His character.

[s] It was ſuppoſed to have been given him by his phyſician, bribed by the court of Spain.

future,

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future, and unable to judge for himſelf, he was a ſlave to the ſelfiſh purpoſes of others, as well as to his own humour and caprice. He ſeems likewiſe to have been incapable of diſcerning the merit or demerit of thoſe who approached him, or the ſoundneſs or folly of the counſels which they offered. He was not void of friendſhip or attachment, and he was active and ambitious; but he was entirely deſtitute of that patience, ſteadineſs, and reſolution, which are neceſſary in carrying on any important enterpriſe; and his conduct towards the United Provinces, above related, too clearly juſtifies what was ſaid of him by his ſiſter Margaret, that if fraud and infidelity were to be baniſhed from the earth, there was in him a ſtock ſufficient from which it might be ſoon repleniſhed[t].

Aſſaſſination of the Prince of Orange.

YET his death, at the preſent criſis, was a real calamity to the people of the United Provinces; but the memory of it was ſoon effaced by a much greater calamity, which in a few weeks afterwards befel them, in the death of the Prince of Orange; againſt whom one of thoſe atrocious attempts, to which Philip's proſcription gave birth, proved at laſt ſucceſsful. It was planned, and afterwards executed in Delft, by Balthazar Gerard, a native of Ville-

[t] Bentivoglio, 275. Davila, l. vi. &c.

fans,

ſans in Burgundy. This man, in order to facilitate his admiſſion into the Prince's preſence, had called himſelf the ſon of a French Proteſtant, of the name of Guion, who had ſuffered for the ſake of his religion. By this fictitious account of his extraction, joined to an artful affectation of zeal for the reformed religion and the ſervice of the States, he became known to the Prince; and William was ſo far deceived by this impoſtor, that he put him into the train of an ambaſſador to the court of France. This mark of confidence did not divert him from his ungenerous deſign; on the contrary, he had no ſooner returned from France, than he reſolved to carry it into execution; and he would have done ſo, as he afterwards declared, on his firſt arrival, when he was admitted with letters into the Prince's apartment, if he had not neglected to furniſh himſelf with arms. But in a few days after, having returned to the palace, on the pretence of applying for a paſſport, he placed himſelf at the door of that apartment, in which the Prince was at dinner with his wife Louiſa de Coligni, and his ſiſter the Counteſs of Scwartzenburgh, and waited there, with a cloak caſt round him, till they were retiring into another room. The Princeſs, obſerved him look confuſed and pale, was greatly alarmed, and enquired what he wanted. He comes for a paſſport,

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anſwered the Prince; when the aſſaſſin, ſtepping forward, ſhot him in the body with a piſtol loaded with three balls. William had time only to ſay, "God have mercy on me, and this afflicted people: I am grievouſly wounded." Immediately after which he fell down, and in a few moments afterwards expired[q]; the Princeſs, overwhelmed with anguiſh, looking on; whoſe peculiar fate it was to ſee her ſecond huſband murdered, as her illuſtrious father, and her firſt huſband, the amiable Teligni, had been, in the maſſacre of Paris, ſome years before.

July 10th.

THE murderer in the mean time had made his eſcape out of the palace by a back-door, and had almoſt reached the ramparts. He was preparing to throw himſelf into the ditch, which was full of water, in the hopes of being able to ſwim over, when he was overtaken by two of the Prince's guards.

UPON his firſt examination he declared, that, ſix years before the preſent period, he had formed the deſign of putting the Prince to death; that he had then been deterred from his purpoſe by his friends; that he had again reſumed it when the King publiſhed his edict of proſcription; that having been in the ſervice of Du Pré, ſecretary to Count Manſveldt, he

[q] In the fifty-ſecond year of his age.

had

had procured from him ſome blank ſubſcriptions of the Count's, which, in order to gain credit, he had delivered to the Prince; that he had communicated his deſign to four jeſuits in Treves and Tournay, who aſſured him, that if he ſhould die in the execution of it, he would be deemed a martyr by the church.

To theſe circumſtances, after the torture was applied, he ſubjoined, that the reward promiſed in the proſcription had been his principal motive; that he had made known his purpoſe to the Prince of Parma, and had been deſired by him to converſe with his ſecretary, Chriſtopher Aſſonville; that Aſſonville had deſired him to reflect on the difficulties which he muſt encounter; but had aſſured him that he could not perform a more acceptable ſervice either to the King or the Prince of Parma; that he might depend, with perfect ſecurity, upon receiving the money promiſed in the King's edict of proſcription; but exhorted him repeatedly to deny, in caſe of his being ſeized, that the Prince of Parma had approved of his deſign; although the Prince, he ſaid, had in reality approved of it, and had conſented to his uſing the blank ſubſcriptions.

When he was informed of the ſentence pronounced againſt him, in which it was ordained,

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that his right hand ſhould be burnt off, and the fleſh of his body torn from the bones with burning pincers, he was at firſt thrown into the moſt dreadful conſternation, and lamented bitterly that he had ſuffered the thirſt of wealth to betray him into an action, which had plunged him into ſuch intolerable miſery; but he ſoon recovered his natural fortitude, and ſaid, that, far from repenting of what he had done, he was conſcious of having merited the favour of God, and was ſure of being admitted into a ſtate of eternal happineſs. And in this temper of mind he remained, both in the interval before his execution, and in the time of it, during which he exhibited a degree of compoſure and tranquillity that filled the ſpectators with aſtoniſhment.

THE higheſt encomiums were beſtowed on this deluded wretch by the popiſh eccleſiaſtics in the ſouthern provinces; and in many cities they would have lighted up bonfires, and celebrated public rejoicings, if the conſent of the people could have been obtained; but even the Prince of Parma's troops refuſed to join in theſe rejoicings, and openly declared their condemnation of an act, which they found repugnant to the dictates of their hearts, whatever might be ſaid in juſtification of it, on the principles of crooked politics, or the popiſh faith.

IT

IT will be unneceſſary to inform the reader of the grief and conſternation, which this melancholy event diffuſed throughout the confederated provinces. Each perſon mourned as for his parent, his guardian, and friend, and felt for the loſs which the State had ſuſtained, as men are wont to feel for their private and domeſtic calamities. Being now deprived of the perſon whoſe wiſdom had, for many years, been their principal ſupport, they conſidered themſelves as deſtitute and forlorn, and were overwhelmed with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions of their future fate [w].

Character of the Prince.

NEVER was any perſon better fitted than the Prince of Orange for the difficult ſituation in which he was placed, or better qualified for the arduous taſk of delivering an injured people from the yoke of their oppreſſor. Even his bittereſt enemies allow him to have been poſſeſſed of vigilance, application, penetration, and ſagacity, joined with a peculiar dexterity in governing the inclinations of men, and in conciliating and preſerving their affections. To theſe accompliſhments both the hiſtory of his life, and the teſtimony of the beſt informed hiſtorians, authoriſe us to add the virtues of fortitude and magnanimity, of juſtice and

[w] Van Meteren, p. 363. Bentivoglio, lib. xii. Thuanus, in hoc anno.

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equity, of patience, equanimity, and moderation, which were never perhaps found united in one perſon in ſo eminent a degree [x]. Amidſt all the variety of fortune which he experienced, he was never either elated or depreſſed; but whether the events in which he was intereſted were proſperous or adverſe, he preſerved on all occaſions the ſame compoſure and ſerenity of ſoul.

By a reſpectable Popiſh hiſtorian [y], he is accuſed of avarice and rapacity; yet that author has not been able to produce a ſingle fact to juſtify his charge. It appears not from any hiſtorian, that he was ever guilty of employing his power for the purpoſe of advancing his private intereſt, to the prejudice either of individuals or the public. He always declined taking any concern in adminiſtering the finances. He did not even exact payment of the revenue which the States had appointed him; and at his death he left his private affairs ſo much encumbered, that the States found it neceſſary to make proviſion for the ſupport of his widow and children [z].

The ſame hiſtorian has loaded him with the imputation of fraud and hypocriſy, of which, however, no proof was ever given but general

[x] Thuani Hiſtoria. [y] Bentivoglio. [z] Wickfort, lib. ii.

invective,

invective, nor a ſingle inſtance of deceit produced by his moſt inveterate enemies. Before his rupture with Philip, he teſtified on all occaſions his diſapprobation of the meaſures that were purſued; and after it, he acted uniformly the part of an open foe. He had no religion, ſay ſome Catholic writers, but what his intereſt and ambition dictated. Yet he was decent and irreproachable in his conduct, as well as punctual in diſcharging the functions of that religion which he profeſſed; nor do theſe authors pretend to offer any other evidence to juſtify their ſurmiſe, but that he gave up the Catholic religion, in which he had been educated at the court of the Emperor, and returned to that with which his mind had been tinctured in his earlieſt infancy. His religion was not indeed of the ſame ſpirit either with that of thoſe whom he forſook, or of many of thoſe whoſe cauſe he adopted. It ſuffered him not to regard either ſpeculative opinions or external rites, as ſufficient ground for haraſſing and butchering thoſe from whom he differed in opinion. But in an age of cruel gloomy ſuperſtition, with which almoſt all the companions of his youth were deeply infected, his religion, conformably to the example and precepts of its author, was mild, moderate, and humane. Nor was it to one ſect of Chriſtians only that his moderation and humanity extended. As

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he did what he could, while he adhered to the Catholic faith, to put a ſtop to the perſecution of the Proteſtants; ſo, after he had embraced the reformed religion, he exerted his moſt ſtrenuous endeavours to protect the Catholics from violence, and to procure liberty for them to exerciſe their religion as far as was conſiſtent with the public peace. To infer from this conduct that he had no religion of his own, is going a great deal farther than to aſſert the lawfulneſs of perſecution; it is equivalent to maintaining that no chriſtian can be ſincere who can live at peace with thoſe who differ from him in his religious perſuaſion.

It is not to the purpoſe which the Popiſh hiſtorians intended to ſerve by their portraits of William's character, to ſay of him that he was ambitious; in itſelf, ambition merits neither praiſe nor blame, but is culpable or laudable according to the end at which it aſpires, and the means which it employs. But if we judge concerning the character of the Prince of Orange according to this criterion, it muſt be impoſſible for perſons ſo oppoſite in their principles, as the Catholic and Proteſtant hiſtorians, to agree.

If, with the former, we place the rights of all ſovereigns on the ſame foundation, without diſtin-

diſtinguiſhing between an abſolute Prince and the ſovereign of a free people, and believe that every Prince is, by an indefeaſible and divine right, entitled to exerciſe a deſpotic power over the religion and liberty of his ſubjects; if we believe, that, with the permiſſion of the Pope, a King may violate his moſt ſolemn oaths, and that the obligations of his ſubjects to obedience remain in force, even after every condition upon which they entered into them has been violated: if, with ſuch principles as theſe, we judge of the character of the Prince of Orange, it will be difficult not to conſider him as guilty both of perjury and rebellion; and in this caſe, the moſt favourable verdict that can be paſſed upon his conduct, is to ſay, that it proceeded from a criminal ambition.

But if, on the other hand, we regard the Pontiff's pretenſions to the power of ſetting men at liberty from their oaths as abſurd and impious; if we regard the rights of ſubjects as no leſs ſacred than thoſe of Kings; if we diſtinguiſh between a Prince inveſted with unlimited authority, and one whoſe power is circumſcribed by the fundamental laws of the ſtate; between a Prince whoſe right to his dominions is indefeaſible, and one who obtained his ſovereignty only upon certain terms, which he ſwore to fulfil, while his ſubjects engaged to yield

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yield their obedience on condition of his fulfilling them; in this caſe, our judgment of William's character will be extremely different from what it was on the former ſuppoſition. We ſhall not be ſatisfied with barely aſſerting his innocence of thoſe crimes of which his enemies have accuſed him, but ſhall confer upon him the glorious appellations which his countrymen beſtowed, of the father of his country, and the guardian of its liberty and laws, who generouſly ſacrificed his intereſt, eaſe, and ſafety to the public good, and who, firſt by counſel and perſuaſion, and afterwards by force of arms, did more to reſcue his fellow-citizens from oppreſſion, than was ever done in ſuch unfavourable circumſtances by any patriot in the world before*.

* William left iſſue four ſons and eight daughters. By his firſt wife, Anne of Egmont, Counteſs of Buren, he had Philip-William, who was detained for thirty years a priſoner in Spain; and Mary de Naſſau, who was married to Count Hohenloe.

By his ſecond wife, Anne, daughter of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, he had Prince Maurice, ſo much celebrated in the hiſtory of the Netherlands, and a daughter, named Emilia, who married Emanuel, ſon of Don Antonio, prior of Crato.

By his third wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke de Montpenſier, he had ſix daughters, viz.

1ſt, Louiſa Juliana, who was married to Frederic IV. Elector Palatine.

2d, Elizabeth,

2d, Elizabeth, whom he gave in marriage to Henry de la Tour, Duke of Bouillon; and who, beſides other children, bore her huſband the celebrated Viſcount de Turenne. BOOK XVIII. 1584.

3d, Catharine, who married Lewis, Count de Hanau.

4th, Charlotte Brabantina, married to Claude, Duke de la Trimouille, to whom ſhe bore the celebrated Counteſs of Derby, who diſtinguiſhed herſelf during the civil wars in England; and from whom are deſcended the preſent noble families of Derby and Athol.

5th, Charlotte Flandrina de Naſſau, who embraced the Catholic religion, and died Abbeſs of St. Croix in Poitiers. And,

6th, Emilia de Naſſau, who was married to the Duke of Lanſberg.

By his fourth and laſt wife, Louiſa de Coligni, daughter of the great Admiral de Chatillon, William had one ſon, Henry-Frederic, who ſucceeded his brother Maurice in the principality of Orange, and in his authority in the United Provinces.

Beſides this numerous offspring, William left a natural ſon, Juſtin de Naſſau, who was highly reſpected for his bravery and conduct, was intruſted with ſeveral important commands, and is often mentioned in the ſequel.

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THE

HISTORY

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PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XIX.

THE Prince of Parma did not neglect the opportunity which the diſtreſs occaſioned by the death of the Prince of Orange afforded him, to perſuade the confederated provinces to accept of peace. But their diſtruſt of Philip, their attachment to the Proteſtant faith, and the other cauſes mentioned above, ſtill retained their influence, and rendered them averſe to any reconcilement with a Prince, againſt whom their indignation was more inflamed than ever, by the cruel injury which they had lately ſuffered. They could attend to nothing now but how to proſecute the war with vigour, or to teſtify their reſpect for the memory of the Prince of Orange.

BOOK XIX.

1584.

Temper and diſpoſition of the States.

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WILLIAM's eldeſt ſon, the Count of Buren, was ſtill a priſoner in Spain; and his ſecond, Prince Maurice [a], was engaged in the ſtudy of literature and ſcience at the univerſity of Leyden. On this young man, who, at the time of his father's death, was only eighteen years old, of great hopes, and whoſe actions afterwards exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations of his countrymen, the States beſtowed the greateſt part of the dignities which his father had enjoyed. Beſides creating him High-Admiral of the Union, they conferred upon him the government of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. And, in order to ſupply his want of experience, and ſecure his being early inſtructed in the military art, they appointed Count Hohenloe, the moſt accompliſhed officer in their ſervice, to be his lieutenant or deputy, till he ſhould attain to greater maturity of years and underſtanding.

Prince Maurice.

Reduction of Bruſſels, Ghent, &c.

FROM this conduct of the States, which proved that William's aſcendant over them had not terminated with his life, Farneſe perceived that it would be impoſſible to bring the war to a concluſion in any other way than by force of arms. Diſmiſſing therefore all

[a] Grandſon, by the mother's ſide, of the celebrated Elector of Saxony of the ſame name.

thoughts

thoughts of peace, he proceeded with great activity in the military operations which he had begun in Brabant and Flanders; and his ſucceſs was in proportion to the prudence and vigilance which he exerted. Beſides the towns above mentioned, he had lately acquired Vilvorden and Dendremonde, but he had not yet reduced Ghent, Bruſſels, or Antwerp. To have proceeded ſeparately againſt each of thoſe places, in the ordinary way of ſieges, would have protracted the war to an exceſſive length. Inſtead of that method, he bethought himſelf of another, which was ſuggeſted by the ſituation of the ſeveral towns, and the nature of their reſources. This was to make himſelf maſter of the banks of the rivers and canals on which they ſtood, while he ſent out flying parties of horſe to ſcour the adjacent country. And thus he not only put a ſtop to their trade, without which they could not ſubſiſt, but cut off all of them but Antwerp from every ſort of communication with other places. For ſeveral months, however, the inhabitants declined entering into any terms of accommodation. But when they conſidered that, unleſs he were obliged to draw off his troops by the approach of a ſuperior army, they muſt ſoon be reduced to the laſt extremity, their reſolution failed, they began to liſten more patiently to the exhortations which the ſecret partiſans of Spain were daily found-

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ing in their ears; and, at length, ſuch of them as were ſituated in the more interior parts, firſt Ghent, and afterwards Bruſſels and ſome other inland towns, reſolved to return under the Spaniſh government, upon conditions to which Farneſe had, on different occaſions, ſhewn himſelf willing to agree.

Of theſe conditions, the moſt important were the following: "That the people ſhould engage to acknowledge no other ſovereign but the King of Spain: That no religion but the Roman Catholic ſhould be permitted, but that the Proteſtants ſhould be allowed to remain in the Netherlands for two years, in order to diſpoſe of their effects: That a ſum of money ſhould be paid for defraying the expences of the war: That all paſt offences ſhould be forgiven, and all the ancient rights and privileges of the inhabitants reſtored and maintained inviolate."

In fulfilling his part of theſe conditions, Farneſe not only acted with ſtrict fidelity, but diſplayed a degree of lenity and moderation that was admirably calculated to promote his views. Of the fine of three hundred thouſand crowns, to which the people of Ghent conſented in their treaty of ſurrender, he demanded only two hundred thouſand. And although in his act of indemnity ſix perſons, more

more obnoxious than the reſt, had been excepted, he required from them only a pecuniary fine. He was likewiſe at all times willing to liſten to the complaints of the Proteſtants, and to redreſs their grievances [b]. 1584.

Siege of Antwerp.

ALL the conſiderable towns in Brabant were now ſubdued, except Antwerp. The Prince had early formed the reſolution of laying ſiege to that important city; and ſome time before his acquiſition of Ghent and Bruſſels, he had taken meaſures for beginning it. But in order to ſecure ſucceſs, it was neceſſary that his utmoſt ſkill and ſtrength ſhould be exerted; and he now applied himſelf to the proſecution of his deſign, with all the anxiety, zeal, and induſtry, which an object of the higheſt conſequence deſerved.

ANTWERP was at this time not only the richeſt and moſt ſplendid, but likewiſe the ſtrongeſt city in the Netherlands. As it lies extended along the banks of the Scheld, and the confederates ſtill maintained their ſuperiority at ſea, it was thought to be ſufficiently ſecured on one ſide by a ſtrong wall which ran parallel to the river; and on the other ſides it was fortified by ramparts of extraordinary height, and a ditch filled with water, of

[b] Meteren, p. 368.

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such depth and breadth, as in the opinion of those times rendered it almost impregnable.

Such was the judgment formed of it by the Prince of Parma, and on this account he did not intend to attempt reducing it by storm, but to have recourse to the slower method of blockade, which he knew must sooner or later prove successful.

On the side towards the land, he found it extremely easy to render the blockade complete, as the States had no army able to contend with him in the field, and all the neighbouring towns were in his possession. But these circumstances he perceived would be of little advantage, while the besieged remained masters of the Scheld; and therefore to deprive them of this resource was the great object to which all his operations, during this celebrated siege, were directed.

The people of Antwerp had penetrated into his design, and had omitted nothing in their power to prevent him from carrying it into execution. With this view they had constructed two forts, one on each side of the river, about three miles below the town; to one of which they gave the name of Lieffkenshoech, and to the other that of Lillo. Farnese judged it necessary to begin his operations

rations with reducing theſe forts. He ſent the Marquis de Roubais againſt Lieffkenſoech, which ſtood on the Flanders ſide of the Scheld, while Mondragon laid ſiege to Lillo. Roubais found no great difficulty in fulfilling the General's intention with regard to Lieffkenſoech. But Mondragon's attempt on the fort of Lillo was not attended with the ſame ſucceſs. This fort was valiantly defended by Colonel Balfour, a Scotch officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, and Teligny, the worthy ſon of the brave La Noue. After battering the ramparts for ſeveral days, Mondragon attempted to take the fort by ſtorm, but was repulſed; and in his repulſe, and a ſally which the garriſon had made ſome days before, he ſuſtained the loſs of no leſs than two thouſand men.

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Upon receiving intelligence of this diſaſter, the Prince of Parma, after ſettling the government of the towns which he had lately conquered, came himſelf to view the ſcene of action. He found that all the time and pains and blood which had been ſpent in the ſiege of this fort had been miſapplied; and perceived that as it ſtood at ſome diſtance from the banks, it did not materially interfere with his plan for putting a ſtop to the navigation of the river.

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FOR this reaſon, inſtead of puſhing the immediate reduction of it, he was ſatisfied with blockading it on the land ſide, ſo as to prevent the excurſions of the garriſon.

The Prince of Parma's plan for blocking up the Scheld.

HAVING given inſtructions for this purpoſe, he called a council of his general officers, and laid before them his project for blocking up the Scheld, by building a bridge over it, to intercept the communication between the beſieged city and the maritime provinces; an enterpriſe which, had it failed, would have expoſed him to deriſion, but which ſhewed the boldneſs of his genius, and has contributed, more than almoſt any other of his military atchievements, to raiſe his character to that exalted rank which it holds in the annals of hiſtory.

BY moſt of the officers his propoſal was regarded as chimerical. For where, ſaid they, can materials be found for ſo great an undertaking? And even if they ſhould be found, yet how is it poſſible to tranſport them hither? By land-carriage, it is utterly impracticable; nor would it ſeem to be much eaſier by water, while the enemy poſſeſſes ſo great a ſuperiority in naval force. Beſides that, no beams, they obſerved, were of ſufficient length to reach the bottom of the river.

To

To build a bridge of ſhips, they thought, would be equally impracticable, becauſe he did not poſſeſs ſo great a number as was neceſſary, and it would be impoſſible to collect them from different places, in the face of a vigilant enemy, of a ſuperior naval ſtrength. And even allowing it were poſſible, either with beams or ſhips to conſtruct ſuch a bridge as was projected, yet it would be quickly deſtroyed by the ice, or by the tides and ſtorms, or by the enemy. 1584.

But Farneſe, conſcious of reſources in the fertility of his genius, of which his officers could form no idea, was not diſcouraged by theſe objections. He conſidered that the meaſure on which he had reſolved was the only one by which Antwerp could be reduced, and that till he ſhould reduce that city, and thereby get poſſeſſion of a naval force, the towns lately acquired (which uſually carried on their trade by the way of Antwerp) muſt ſuffer the greateſt inconveniences, and it would be in vain for him to attempt the conqueſt of the maritime provinces.

Determined by theſe conſiderations, he proceeded inſtantly to make the preparations neceſſary for executing his deſign. Having firſt ſounded the river, and meaſured its breadth

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breadth in different places, he found, that between the village of Ordham in Brabant, and Caloo in Flanders, it was neither ſo deep nor ſo broad, as above or below. At this place therefore he reſolved to build a bridge. And he began with raiſing two ſtrong forts oppoſite to each other on the different ſides of the river, beſides ſeveral redoubts, on which, as well as on the forts, he planted a great number of cannon, to defend the bridge when finiſhed, and to protect the workmen while engaged in building it.

In the mean time he ranſacked all the country round for materials, and had the good fortune to find at Dendremonde and Ghent, great quantities of every thing requiſite for the intended work. If he could have conveyed his materials to Caloo down the Scheld, a great expence of labour and time would have been ſaved. This he repeatedly attempted; but he ſoon found that it was impoſſible to eſcape the vigilance of the citizens, who being directed in all their operations by St. Aldegonde, lay in wait for his boats near Antwerp, and either took or deſtroyed them.

In order to avoid the repetition of this diſaſter, Farneſe made, on the Flanders ſide near Borcht, which ſtands higher than Antwerp, a large

large cut in the dyke of the Scheld, by which he laid all the neck of land between Borcht and Caloo under water; opening an egreſs for the water by another cut near Caloo, and tranſporting his apparatus for the bridge acroſs the inundation. This expedient rendered it unneceſſary for his boats to paſs by Antwerp, and they likewiſe arrived ſooner at their deſtined port. BOOK XIX. 1584.

But St. Aldegonde having built a redoubt on the Brabant ſide, oppoſite to the cut at Borcht, and ſtationed ſome armed veſſels to cruiſe there, ſoon rendered the paſſage as difficult as before. Farneſe was therefore obliged to adopt another experiment, much more laborious than the former, but which he knew would certainly be attended with ſucceſs. This was to dig a canal fifteen Italian miles in length, to join the inundation juſt now mentioned, with a little river which falls into the Scheld at Ghent. That he might finiſh this arduous undertaking the more ſpeedily, he fixed his head-quarters at Beveren, in the neighbourhood of the canal, and was perpetually preſent himſelf, exhorting and encouraging the workmen; and ſometimes taking the ſpade and pick-axe into his own hand. The work was finiſhed with wonderful expedition, and fully anſwered his expectation.

As

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As the enemy could have no acceſs either to the canal, or the river with which it communicated, he conveyed all neceſſary materials and engines from Ghent without oppoſition, and immediately afterwards began the conſtruction of the bridge.

Deſcription of the bridge.

THE two extremities of this edifice were formed of huge beams, driven into the bottom of the river by the force of engines, and ſtrongly bound together by other tranſverſe or croſs beams. This part of the work, called the ſtacados or eſtacados, ran from each ſide of the river towards the middle of it, as far as the depth of the water would allow; which on the Flanders ſide was two hundred feet, and on the other, nine hundred. Theſe ſtacados were only twelve feet broad, except towards the two extremities, next the centre of the river, where their breadth being increaſed to forty feet, two forts were erected upon them, and furniſhed with artillery. The whole was covered at top with ſtrong planks, and a parapet five feet high, of the thickeſt planks, was raiſed upon it for the ſecurity of the ſoldiers. A row of piles was then driven deep into the bottom of the river, parallel to each of the ſtacados, at the diſtance of a few feet from them, and ſtrongly faſtened to the beams of which *they* were compoſed.

Beſides

Beſides which, another row of long beams pointed with iron, was placed horizontally a little above the ſurface of the water; ſtretching out to a conſiderable length from the bridge on both ſides, ſo as to make it dangerous for ſhips to approach. BOOK XIX. 1584.

By this part of the work, the navigation of the river was conſiderably ſtraitened; but as there was an open ſpace in the middle, between the heads of the eſtacados, of more than one thouſand two hundred and fifty feet, the enemy's ſhips, taking advantage ſometimes of the night, and ſometimes of the wind and tide, continued, though not without loſs, to paſs and repaſs as formerly; and the city was ſtill abundantly ſupplied with proviſions. Farneſe having from the beginning intended to fill up the intermediate ſpace with ſhips, had with great difficulty collected two and thirty, which he judged to be a ſufficient number. Theſe veſſels, after the maſts had been taken out, were placed with their ſides parallel to each other, at the diſtance of about twenty feet. They were ſtrongly faſtened together by chains, and were fixed in their places by anchors at both ends, in ſuch a manner that the ſailors could ſhorten or lengthen their cables, as the tide either roſe or fell. Over the intermediate ſpaces, ſtrong beams went

BOOK XIX. 1584. went from one ſhip to another. Above theſe were laid planks; and the ſame ſort of parapet was erected, as that which was raiſed on the ſtacados. Thirty ſoldiers and four ſailors were put on board each ſhip, and all the ſhips were planted with artillery.

For the greater ſecurity of this part of the work, a flota one thouſand two hundred feet long was conſtructed of barks, bound together in the ſame manner as the ſhips of which the bridge was formed, with the ſame ſort of beams pointed with iron, reſembling a file of pikes, ſtretching from that end of the barks which lay next to the enemy. Theſe barks were filled with empty caſks, to prevent them from being ſunk, and were fixed in their place by anchors. Of this kind of flota, two were conſtructed, conſiſting each of two and thirty barks, one above, and the other below the bridge, at the diſtance of two hundred yards.

1585. This ſtupendous work [c] furniſhed employment to the Prince of Parma's fleet and army for more than half a year. Without a fleet of conſiderable ſtrength it could not have been executed, and the procuring of this fleet in ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances, was one

[c] It was finiſhed in February 1585.

of

of the many ſtriking proofs which Farneſe exhibited on this occaſion, of that extraordinary activity and enterpriſe by which his character is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. With infinite labour and difficulty he had equipped, at Ghent and Dunkirk, forty armed veſſels, and put them under the commad of the Marquis de Roubais; who being well ſupported by the forts and redoubts on the banks of the river, protected the workmen, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous efforts which the beſieged could make to interrupt them. BOOK XIX. 1585.

FARNESE however would not probably have ſucceeded in his enterpriſe, if the United States had exerted themſelves with vigour, proportioned either to that of the enemy, or to the importance of the prize conteſted. It now appeared how great was the loſs which the confederacy had ſuſtained in the death of the Prince of Orange. By William's ſuperior rank, wiſdom, and experience, ſome turbulent leaders had been reſtrained, who, after his death, indulged their factious, intereſted ſpirit, without regard to the pernicious conſequences which might enſue. Among theſe was Treſlong, whom the States had appointed commander of the fleet deſtined for the relief of Antwerp. This man, whether from treachery or from private reſentment, paid no

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regard to his inſtructions; but on different pretences, at firſt delayed putting the orders of the States in execution; and at laſt told them that he would not ſail, unleſs ſome perſons with whom he had quarrelled were removed from the magiſtracy. On this occaſion, Prince Maurice called an aſſembly of the States of the province, diſmiſſed Treſlong from his employment, and put him under arreſt. The command of the fleet was then given to Count Hohenloe; but the time in which its operations might have proved effectual, was paſt; and the bridge, with all its fortifications as above deſcribed, was almoſt finiſhed.

Conſternation of the beſieged.

No words can expreſs the aſtoniſhment which it excited in the minds of the beſieged. At the commencement of the work, they had regarded it rather as an object of deriſion, than as fitted to excite any ſerious apprehenſion or alarm. Their anxiety and terror now were in proportion to their former confidence and ſecurity. They ſaw an entire ſtop put to their trade in every quarter. They already felt many of the inconveniences of a ſiege. Their imaginations repreſented, in the moſt dreadful light, the calamities which they were about to ſuffer; and perſons of all ranks began to talk of the neceſſity of preventing them in time, by making their peace with the enemy. But they were

were divided from forming any fixed reſolution by St. Aldegonde, who employed all his eloquence and addreſs to rouſe their abhorrence of the Spaniſh yoke, and to inſpire them with the hopes of being able to raiſe the ſiege. BOOK XIX. 1585.

Speech of St. Aldegonde.

"IT is not ſurpriſing," ſaid he, "in an aſſembly of thoſe who held public offices in the town, that many of our fellow-citizens ſhould tremble at the proſpect of thoſe hardſhips which uſually attend a long continued ſiege. But while we caſt our eyes forward to theſe, let us reflect on the calamities which we have reaſon to dread from a ſurrender. We have ſeen, within theſe few years, two memorable ſieges, the ſiege of Haerlem, and that of Leyden. The people of Haerlem, rather than ſubmit to the laſt extremities, choſe to throw themſelves on the mercy of the Spaniards. But how bitterly did they repent of their having done ſo? And how much better had it been to have fallen in the field of battle, than to ſuffer, as ſo great a number of the braveſt did, that ignominious death, to which they were doomed by the cruel Spaniard? The inhabitants of Leyden, on the other hand, reſolved rather to die, than to deliver themſelves up to ſuch a perfidious enemy; and the conſequence of their adhering to this reſolution was, that the ſiege was raiſed, and a period put to all their miſeries. Can

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we hesitate in deciding which of these examples we ought to follow? Is not death more eligible than submission to the dominion of an enemy, from whom we have endured such intolerable outrage?

"If this city shall fall again under the yoke of these oppressors, can we doubt that the citadel will be restored, and with it all the tyranny which they were wont to exercise? Will not our religion be proscribed, and the Inquisition established? This illustrious city will then become a colony of Spaniards. Her commerce will be ruined, and her inhabitants obliged to wander in search of places of abode, forlorn and indigent. But why should I thus describe the disasters of a surrender? There is still no reason for despair. It is impossible that this bridge can stand long against the efforts which we shall make for its destruction. Let us not therefore be wanting to ourselves; but with a fixed unalterable purpose, let us embrace the glorious alternative of liberty or death."

By these exhortations, joined to the respect in which his character was held, St. Aldegonde gained over the citizens to a perfect conformity with his sentiments; and persuaded them to renew the oath, which they had formerly taken, never to return under the dominion of the King

King of Spain. An edict was then publiſhed, prohibiting all perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties, from liſtening to any terms of accommodation that might be offered; after which they proceeded with redoubled ardour to put in practice ſuch expedients as had been deviſed for the demolition of the bridge. BOOK XIX. 1585.

Preparations of the beſieged for demoliſhing the bridge.

In order to effectuate this, they had been for ſome time paſt employed in preparing fire-ſhips, under the direction of Giambelli, a celebrated Italian engineer, who appears to have been the author of this invention. They were formed of the thickeſt planks, and had each of them a mine or chamber in the middle. This mine was built in the ſtrongeſt manner, and filled with gun-powder, and with rugged ſtones, bullets, and ſuch other weighty materials, rammed hard and cloſe, on purpoſe to increaſe the reſiſtance and augment the force of the exploſion.

The citizens laboured at the ſame time in conſtructing a flat-bottomed veſſel of extraordinary ſtrength and ſize, with which they intended to attack the forts and redoubts on the banks of the river. This enormous machine was more properly a floating caſtle than a ſhip, and the town's people had, on account of the ſanguine expectations which they conceived

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from it, given it the name of "the End of the War."

WHILE the people of Antwerp were thus employed, the confederates who lay at Lillo, under Count Hohenloe, made a vigorous attack on the fort of Lieffkenſoech, and compelled the garriſon to ſurrender. From Lieffkenſoech, they proceeded againſt another fort of the name of St. Antony, which they likewiſe reduced with the ſame facility. When intelligence was brought to the Prince of Parma of their deſcent, he ſet out with a detachment of his army to oppoſe their progreſs; but both the forts had ſurrendered before he could arrive. Being enraged againſt the commanders of theſe forts, on account of their having made too feeble a reſiſtance, he ordered them both to be beheaded on the dyke of the Scheld, in ſight of the enemy. He was the more concerned for the loſs of Lieffkenſoech, as it gave the enemy free poſſeſſion of the navigation of the river below the bridge, and thereby tended to facilitate the execution of any deſign which they might form for its deſtruction.

AT firſt he imagined that the ſolicitude which the confederates had ſhewn for the recovery of Lieffkenſoech, had proceeded from their intending

tending to make an attempt upon the lower ſide of the bridge. But it ſoon appeared, that their only view was to ſecond the operations of the beſieged, and to complete that ruin which they expected the exploſion of the fire-ſhips would certainly produce. BOOK XIX. 1585.

THESE veſſels were ſent down the river, with a favourable wind and tide, on the fourth of April. The Spaniards, who had got ſome imperfect intelligence of their nature, were filled with the moſt anxious expectations. They knew them to be the fire-ſhips from their unuſual appearance, and were variouſly affected, according to the various conjectures which they formed of the effects that were about to be produced. But they were all alike prompted by curioſity, to behold a ſpectacle which had never been exhibited in any ſiege before. And the banks of the river, the forts, and redoubts, and even the bridge itſelf, were crowded with ſpectators.

OF ſeveral veſſels which Giambelli had prepared, only two were conſtructed in the manner above mentioned, the one of which contained in its mine ſix thouſand pounds of gun-powder, and the other, ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds. One of them ran aſhore before it reached the bridge. But the other

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being more fortunate in its direction, was driven towards that part of the bridge, where the ſtacado on the Flanders ſide was united to the ſhips. A great number of the Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers had the courage to jump on board, in order to extinguiſh the train, which Giambelli had contrived in ſuch a manner, as to require an hour before it could reach the mine. The Prince of Parma had advanced a little way on the ſtacado, to wait for the event; but was prevailed upon by his officers to retire. He had ſcarcely entered the neighbouring fort when the exploſion happened, with a noiſe more dreadful than the loudeſt thunder. A ſudden darkneſs overſpread the region round. The ground ſhook as in an earthquake. The river, diſturbed in its courſe, was thrown over its dykes, and poured into the fort of Caloo with inconceivable violence. Not only ſuch of the Spaniards periſhed as had ventured to go on board the fire-ſhip, but all thoſe too who were upon the bridge, and many of thoſe who ſtood upon the banks of the river. No language can deſcribe the horror of the ſcene which preſented itſelf after the ſmoke was diſpelled. The bridge, and both the ſurface and the banks of the river, were covered with the dead and wounded, whoſe bodies were diſfigured in a thouſand hideous ways by the ſmoke and flames,

flames, and the various inſtruments of deſtruction with which the ſhip was ſtored. Eight hundred men were killed, and a great number maimed and dangerouſly wounded. Among the killed were many officers of diſtinction; but no perſon periſhed, ſo deeply lamented by the Prince of Parma, as the Marquis de Roubais, the general of the horſe; a nobleman diſtinguiſhed by many ſhining accompliſhments, brave, active, and expert both in the arts of peace and war; once an enemy of Spain; but who, prompted by jealouſy of the Prince of Orange, had abandoned the cauſe of liberty, and ſhewn for ſome years paſt no leſs zeal in reducing his countrymen under the Spaniſh yoke, than he had diſcovered formerly in aſſerting their independence. It was not only loſſes of this kind which the Prince of Parma ſuſtained on this occaſion. The bridge likewiſe ſuffered conſiderable damage. Six of the ſhips which compoſed the middle part of it, were burnt; ſome were forced from their ſtations, and others turned with their keels uppermoſt, and daſhed to pieces. 1585.

If the confederates had improved the opportunity which this havoc afforded them, the whole work might have been demoliſhed; and in that caſe, a prediction of the Prince of

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Orange would have been fulfilled, that if Farneſe with ſo ſmall an army ſhould undertake the ſiege of Antwerp, it would prove his ruin. But, as was obſerved by the old experienced Mondragone, it appeared from many circumſtances in the conduct of the confederates in this ſiege, that the Prince of Orange was dead.

By ſome ſtrange fatality, or ſome unaccountable inadvertence, or, as one hiſtorian inſinuates, by a miſunderſtanding between the magiſtrates of Antwerp and the admiral of the Antwerp fleet, thoſe fire-ſhips which had coſt ſo great an expence of money, ingenuity, time and pains, were ſent down the Scheld before any concert had been formed with the confederates at Lillo; who were therefore unprepared to ſecond that mighty effort which had been made for opening the navigation of the river.—Giambelli, though extremely ſolicitous to know the ſucceſs of his invention, remained entirely ignorant of it for two days. A large reward was offered to thoſe who ſhould venture to go down the river for intelligence. But none had courage to advance far enough to make any certain diſcovery, nor did the citizens know any thing of what had happened till the third night after, when they received information of it by a meſſenger from Count Hohenloe.

THE Prince of Parma was in the mean time employed in repairing the bridge, and he exerted himſelf with ſo much activity and vigour, that it was made as ſtrong as ever before the beſieged were acquainted with the damage which it had ſuſtained. His late experience ſuggeſted to him an alteration in the work, which was found afterwards of great importance: this was to remove the flotas, and to form that part of the bridge which was compoſed of the ſhips, in ſuch a manner that, in caſe the enemy ſhould repeat their experiment, it might be opened at different places to let the fire-ſhips paſs through and continue their courſe down the river. 1585.

Other attempts of the beſieged.

THE ſpirits of the beſieged were ſtill ſupported by the ſanguine hopes which they had conceived from that enormous veſſel, which they called "the End of the War." This huge machine was entirely the work of the citizens, and was not approved of either by Giambelli or St. Aldegonde. It was found, on trial, too unwieldy to anſwer the purpoſe for which it was intended. After planting the lower part of it with cannon, and filling the higher part with muſketeers, they made an attack upon one of the Spaniſh redoubts; but they failed in their attempt, and the machine itſelf

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itſelf was ſo much ſhattered, as to be rendered almoſt unfit for future uſe.

At Giambelli's deſire, the ſenate of Antwerp had again recourſe to their firſt expedient of fire-ſhips; but the enemy having learnt the nature of theſe machines, employed different means to render them ineffectual. They laid hold of them as ſoon as they appeared, and ſometimes extinguiſhed the trains, and ſometimes dragged the veſſels to the banks of the river, or through the openings in the bridge.

Giambelli then bethought himſelf of another device, from which he believed that ſome more certain effect might be expected. Having bound together in one compacted body fifteen ſhips armed with pointed beams, and with ſcythes or falchions, for cutting the chains and cordage of the bridge, he ſent them accompanied with fire-ſhips down the river when the wind and tide were combined and favourable. The ſhock which this contrivance produced was very great; but through the wiſe precaution which Farneſe had taken, by making the openings juſt now mentioned, together with the unexampled boldneſs of his ſoldiers in laying hold of the fire-ſhips, the bridge received no greater damage than could be quickly repaired,

paired. Some other expedients were propoſed by Giambelli, but the Senate was deterred from adopting them, partly by the expence and time requiſite to prepare his machines, and partly by the difficulty of finding mariners and ſoldiers willing to expoſe themſelves to the danger with which the putting his inventions in practice would have been attended. BOOK XIX. 1585.

THERE remained now for the beſieged only one reſource, to which, if they had given proper attention in the beginning, all the anxiety, expence, and labour which they beſtowed in attempting to demoliſh the bridge, might have been ſaved. In order to form a clear conception of what will be ſaid on this intereſting part of the preſent ſubject, it is neceſſary to remember that the ground on the north ſide of the Scheld, between Antwerp and Lillo, is much lower than the reſt of the country; and were it not for the dyke of the river would every tide be overflowed. This ground is generally covered with water in many places, but in other parts it furniſhes paſture for a great number of cattle with which the Antwerp market is ſupplied. Through the middle of this plain there runs from the village of Couveſtein, where the country begins to riſe, to the great dyke of the Scheld, a ſmaller dyke, called the Counterdyke of Couveſtein, which had been formed to ſerve for The counterdyke of Couveſtein.

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for a road or cauſeway. The confederates at Lillo could, by opening the dyke of the Scheld, lay all the ground under water between Lillo and the counterdyke, while the beſieged could, with the ſame facility, introduce the river into that part of the plain which lies between the counterdyke and Antwerp; and thus, by breaking down the counterdyke, the inundations on each ſide of it could be united, and a free navigation opened between Antwerp and Lillo.

THE reader will eaſily perceive, that while the bridge ſtood, the fate of Antwerp depended entirely on the counterdyke; and that, in caſe the confederates could make themſelves maſters of it, they might bid defiance to the Prince of Parma, and without anxiety ſuffer him to retain poſſeſſion of the bridge. If, in the beginning, they had believed it practicable for him to execute his deſign of blocking up the river, they could have fortified themſelves on the counterdyke in ſuch a manner, that, with the aſſiſtance of the inundation, they would have baffled his moſt vigorous efforts to expel them. But they were deceived by the contempt which they entertained of his intended enterpriſe, and did not perceive their error in neglecting to occupy this important ſtation till it was too late. The Prince of Parma had already ſeized

upon it, and taken every neceſſary precaution againſt the attempts which he doubted not they would, ſooner or later, make to wreſt it from him. He committed the charge of defending it to two of his moſt vigilant officers, Mondragon and Manſvelt. He ordered it to be made broader and higher than it was before. He ſtrengthened it with piles of wood driven into it tranſverſely, and he erected ſeveral forts upon it, beſides planting redoubts on the dyke of the Scheld, with which he intended to take the enemy in flank, in caſe they ſhould venture to approach. BOOK XIX. 1585.

The confederates, however, deſpairing of being able to demoliſh the bridge, reſolved, if poſſible, to diſlodge him from the counterdyke. And their firſt attempt, after laying the ground on each ſide of it under water, was made in the beginning of May by Count Hohenloe. That general had formed the plan of this attack in concert with St. Aldegonde, who was to have co-operated with him, and had agreed to ſet ſail with the Antwerp fleet immediately after lighting up, on a tower in the city, three fires, as a ſignal of his departure. By a miſtake of the perſon to whom the charge of this ſignal was committed, it was exhibited before the time, and through this untoward accident Count Hohenloe was left alone in the execution

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tion of his enterprife. He conducted it however with vigour, and laid one of the forts and a part of the counterdyke in ruins; after which he thought it prudent to retire, and to reſerve his forces unimpaired till the beſieged ſhould be ready to ſecond his operations. This unfortunate attempt ſerved only to rouſe the Prince of Parma to greater vigilance and exertion. Agreeably to his conjectures, he ſaw that the principal efforts of the enemy would henceforth be directed againſt the counterdyke; and, therefore, he not only applied himſelf with diligence to repair the damage which it had ſuſtained in the late attack, but viſited every day all the redoubts and forts, and reinforced the garriſons with choſen troops taken from the ſeveral nations of which his army was compoſed.

THE confederates at Lillo, and the people of Antwerp, were in the mean time indefatigable in making preparations for another attack. St. Aldegonde ſtood almoſt ſingle in his opinion on this occaſion, and endeavoured to convince his countrymen, that it would be eaſier for them to deſtroy the bridge itſelf, than to make themſelves maſters of the counterdyke, in oppoſition to an enemy ſo much upon their guard, and ſo ſtrongly fortified. But having, ſince their diſappointment with regard to the effect

effect of the fire-ſhips, been accuſtomed to consider the bridge as impregnable, they were deaf to whatever he could advance upon the ſubject, and he was obliged to concur (which he did with all his wonted activity) in the execution of that deſign of which the majority approved.

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Battle of the counter-dyke.

Towards the end of May every thing was prepared, both at Antwerp and Lillo, that was thought neceſſary to ſecure ſucceſs; and, on the 26th of that month, Count Hohenloe, according to concert with St. Aldegonde, ſailed from Lillo early in the morning, with a ſquadron of more than a hundred ſhips, having on board a numerous body of troops, under the command of the moſt experienced officers in the United Provinces[a]. He reſolved to make his attack at the broadeſt part of the counterdyke, between the two middle forts, called the Fort of the Palliſades and Fort St. George, where there was room to intrench his troops. In order to facilitate his landing, he ſent before him four veſſels reſembling fire-ſhips, with ſome trains of gun-powder, to which the ſoldiers, who were concealed within, ſet fire. This device produced the deſigned effect. The Spaniards taking the ſmoke and

[a] Juſtin de Naſſau, Iſelſtein, Fremin, Morgan, and Balfour.

flame

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flame for the forerunners of an exploſion, retired haſtily from that part of the dyke to which they ſaw the veſſels approaching. The confederates in the mean time advanced, and landed between ſeven and eight hundred men, who were quickly followed by all the reſt of the forces. The Spaniards then diſcovered the artifice by which they had been deceived, and immediately returning, attempted to recover the ſtation which they had left. An obſtinate and bloody action enſued, while the contending parties were ſupported on the one ſide by the cannon of the fleet, and on the other by thoſe of the forts on the counterdyke.

In the midſt of this conteſt St. Aldegonde arrived with the fleet from Antwerp, which was nearly as numerous as that from Lillo. The confederates being thus powerfully reinforced, kept poſſeſſion of the ground which they had gained, and while ſome of them fought, others were employed in cutting the counterdyke, and in raiſing temporary defences of piles of wood, and ſacks of earth and wool, againſt the fire of the enemy. The combatants being cooped up in a narrow ſpace, every ſtroke and ſhot did execution. But they received continual ſupplies of freſh men from the ſhips and forts, and their courage was ſuperior to every danger. Both St. Aldegonde and Hohenloe mingled with

with the combatants, and by their example and exhortations nouriſhed the deſperate and intrepid ardour of the ſoldiers. "This is the laſt difficulty (cried St. Aldegonde) which remains to be ſurmounted. Perſiſt as you have begun, and Antwerp, that bulwark of our confederacy, will ſoon be delivered. Your liberty, your future ſafety, and every thing dear and ſacred, depend on the ſucceſs of your preſent enterpriſe. We have now no choice left but victory or death." BOOK XIX. 1585.

THE Spaniſh Generals were at no leſs pains to animate *their* troops. Both Mondragone and Manſvelt, though worn out with age and the fatigues of a long continued warfare, diſplayed on this occaſion the higheſt degree of valour and intrepidity. But, notwithſtanding their moſt vigorous exertions, the confederates ſtill maintained their ground. They twice repulſed the Italians and Spaniards. Of the materials which they had brought along with them, they raiſed a conſiderable bulwark againſt the enemy's artillery. They made ſeveral openings in the counterdyke, and were ſo confident of victory, that St. Aldegonde and Count Hohenloe, after aſſigning to the ſeveral officers their reſpective ſtations, ſet ſail for Antwerp in a ſhip which had paſſed through one of theſe openings, and entered

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the city in triumph. Their deſign, it is ſaid, was to conſult with the magiſtrates concerning ſome future meaſures which they thought neceſſary to be purſued. But what the particular motives were, which determined the Commanders in Chief to leave their troops at this criſis, is not told by the cotemporary hiſtorians; and we are left to ſuſpect two men of vanity and folly, whoſe general conduct furniſhes not the ſmalleſt ground for ſo unfavourable an imputation. They were received at Antwerp with the higheſt tranſports of gratitude and joy, and the people flocked to the harbour, impatiently expecting the arrival of the ſupplies of proviſions which they believed to be near at hand.

But this joy was of ſhort duration: the Prince of Parma was for ſome time ignorant of what had paſſed. Having watched all the preceding night, he had gone in the morning to his head quarters at Beveren, and retired to reſt; but being ſoon awaked by the noiſe of the guns, he ſelected a body of troops, and immediately marched to the place of action.

On his arrival, he viewed with indignation the enemy in poſſeſſion of the counterdyke. He ruſhed forward at the head of his battalion, and ſighing, exclaimed, "Where, my fellow-ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, is now your wonted intrepidity? Are you not aſhamed thus to yield to an enemy you have ſo often conquered, and in one hour to loſe the fruit of all your labours? Let who will follow me; I ſhall either die or conquer." Having ſpoken theſe words, he advanced towards the enemy with a ſword in one hand, and a buckler in the other. The danger to which he was expoſed, inflamed his troops to a degree of madneſs. They returned to the charge with redoubled fury, and, in ſpite of the moſt intrepid reſiſtance, they drove the confederates along the counterdyke, till they came to the place where their companions were intrenched: there they ſtopped. The diſpute was deſperate, and the confederates, being reinforced with freſh troops from their ſhips, once more compelled the Spaniards to retire; but Farneſe, whoſe ardour was unabated, ſtill urging and impelling them, the attack was inſtantly renewed, and the Spaniards proved at laſt victorious.

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It was now only within their intrenchment that the confederates retained poſſeſſion of the counterdyke. The Prince of Parma and his troops were aware of the difficulty which they muſt encounter in attacking an intrenchment defended by men who from the beginning had diſplayed the moſt determined bravery; yet they boldly advanced amidſt an inceſſant fire

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both from the ſhips and the intrenchment. Great numbers fell: ſtill, however, they continued to advance; and whilſt thoſe who were in the rear maintained a conſtant fire upon the enemy, the foremoſt ranks were employed in demoliſhing the fortification.

THIS fortification was at the ſame time attacked, on the other ſide, by two battalions ſent againſt it by Count Manſvelt, the one conſiſting of Spaniards and the other of Italians, who vied with each other in giving the moſt conſpicuous proofs of their contempt of danger. The leaders of theſe battalions, Capiſucchi and Toralva, were the firſt who entered the intrenchments; and ſoon afterwards the troops under the Prince of Parma entered it on the other ſide. The confederates, though thus deprived of all defence, ſtill continued to fight deſperately, till perceiving that the tide was going back, and that their ſhips were beginning to put off to a greater diſtance, while freſh Spaniards were pouring in upon them from both ends of the counterdyke, their courage failed, and they attempted to ſave themſelves by getting on board their boats and ſhips.

The confederates are defeated.

THE Spaniards, not ſatisfied with this victory, flung themſelves from the counterdyke, and purſued the fugitives as far as the depth of

of the water would allow. No quarter was given to thoſe whom they overtook. The counterdyke, and the water on both ſides of it, were covered with the ſlain, and many fell with diſhonourable wounds, who for ſeveral hours together had given inconteſtible evidence of the moſt heroic valour. The number of the killed on the ſide of the confederates amounted to two thouſand five hundred, and that on the other ſide, to one thouſand. The recovery of the counterdyke was not the only advantage which Farneſe derived from his preſent victory: he likewiſe got poſſeſſion of more than thirty of the enemy's ſhips, with all the artillery and engines that were on board. Immediately after which he proceeded to fill up the breaches in the counterdyke, and to repair the damage which his fortifications had ſuſtained. 1585.

THE beſieged, being thus cruelly diſappointed in their hopes of deliverance, were overwhelmed with conſternation and deſpair. By their late great exertions, their internal reſources were exhauſted, and they had little proſpect of any foreign aid that could arrive in time to prevent the neceſſity of ſurrendering. They had not indeed as yet experienced thoſe intolerable miſeries which attend on famine in a place beſieged; but they foreſaw that ere

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long theſe miſeries muſt certainly overtake them, and they conſidered, that to delay making peace with the enemy, could only ſerve to increaſe the difficulty of obtaining favourable terms. Such were the ſentiments of great numbers of every condition, notwithſtanding the ſolemn engagement under which they had lately come, of never ſubmitting to the Spaniſh government. St. Aldegonde, and the other magiſtrates, laboured to remove their apprehenſions, by aſſuring them, that not only their friends in the maritime provinces were preparing forces to relieve them, but that the Queen of England intended to exert herſelf in their behalf. St. Aldegonde himſelf appears to have been animated with this hope, and for ſeveral weeks it had the effect which he deſired on the minds of the citizens; but their patience being at laſt worn out, they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and peremptorily required that ambaſſadors ſhould be appointed to treat of a ſurrender. The magiſtrates, though extremely reluctant, found it neceſſary to comply with their requeſt; and accordingly St. Aldegonde, and ſeveral others of the principal inhabitants, were ſent to the Spaniſh camp.

Capitulation of Antwerp.

THEY were received by the Prince of Parma in the moſt gracious manner, and much more favourable terms of accommodation were offered

fered than they had reaſon to expect. Various motives concurred in determining this prudent General to act on the preſent occaſion with the utmoſt degree of moderation which the King's inſtructions would allow; for, beſides that the granting of equitable conditions to the citizens of Antwerp would contribute to facilitate his future conqueſts, he conſidered that his troops had ſuffered great diminution ſince the commencement of the ſiege; that, by accidents which he could not foreſee, the bridge might be demoliſhed; that he had with much difficulty reſiſted the efforts which the confederates had already made; that ſtill greater exertions were to be apprehended from deſpair; and that the beſieged, if compelled by ſeverity to imitate the example of Haerlem or Leyden, might reſiſt his moſt ſtrenuous endeavours to reduce them, till the Queen of England, who was deliberating on the ſubject, ſhould reſolve to eſpouſe their cauſe.

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Moved by theſe conſiderations, Farneſe ſhewed himſelf not only willing, but even deſirous, to bring the treaty of ſurrender ſpeedily to a concluſion; but the ambaſſadors of the beſieged, ſtill flattering themſelves with the hopes of aſſiſtance, ſtudied to put it off as long as poſſible; nor was the capitulation ſigned till within three days of the time when the whole

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ſtock of proviſions in the city would have been conſumed. This circumſtance had been carefully concealed from the citizens, as well as from the Prince of Parma, and was known only to the magiſtrates and maſters of police. It had not therefore the ſmalleſt influence on the terms of peace, which were as favourable now as if the ſurrender had been made ſome months before.

In ſome reſpects they were more favourable than even thoſe which had been granted to Ghent and Bruges. Whereas the Proteſtants of theſe places had been permitted to continue only two years, in order to ſettle their affairs; in Antwerp they were allowed to remain four; and although Antwerp was much richer than any of the other cities, and the expence of the ſiege infinitely greater, yet he demanded a fine of only four hundred thouſand guilders for the payment of his troops. All the priſoners were ſet at liberty; all paſt offences were forgiven, and no exception whatever was made in the general act of indemnity; nor was any perſonal reſtrictions laid upon any of the citizens, except St. Aldegonde, who was required to engage, that he would not carry arms againſt the King of Spain for the ſpace of a year. This circumſtance had the appearance of a puniſhment inflicted on this diſtinguiſhed patriot; but

but it ought to be conſidered rather as a mark of reſpect and honour, ſince it implied an acknowledgement of his ſuperior merit, and diſcovered the dread which his enemies entertained of his abilities.

NOTWITHSTANDING this public teſtimony which St. Aldegonde received from the Spaniards, he was accuſed of having delivered up the town without neceſſity; and ſo raſh and ill-informed were the States of Holland and Zealand on this occaſion, that they forbade him to take up his reſidence within their territories. Being conſcious of having acted with perfect integrity, he paid no regard to their interdiction, but ſoon after the ſurrender ſet out for Zealand, where he required the States to produce his accuſers, and to try him openly[g]; and as no accuſer ever ventured to appear, he publiſhed a vindication of his conduct, calculated to put his enemies to ſilence, and to ſhew that, inſtead of cenſure, he had merited the higheſt praiſe[h].

THE ill-humour which the maritime provinces diſcovered on this occaſion, in their

[g] The account here given is taken from Meteren, the beſt informed of all the hiſtorians in matters relative to Antwerp. It differs materially from that of Reidanus.

[h] Bentivoglio, part II. lib. iii. Meteren, lib. xii. Thuanus, lib. lxxxiii. Reidanus, lib. iv.

injurious

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injurious treatment of a perſon ſo beloved and popular as St. Aldegonde, proves the error of thoſe who aſſert that theſe provinces were not diſpleaſed that the Spaniards had got poſſeſſion of Antwerp, and that their jealouſy of that commercial city was the cauſe why they did not exert themſelves with greater vigour to preſerve it. As the circumſtances above explained ſeem to afford a full account of their inactivity in the beginning of the ſiege, ſo, towards the cloſe of it, it ſhould ſeem they did every thing for the relief of the beſieged, which they could have done in their own defence. The only object of their dread at this time was the power of Spain. They could not but conſider Antwerp as a bulwark againſt that power, and they could not foreſee thoſe commercial advantages, which they derived afterwards from the reduction of that wealthy city under the Spaniſh yoke.

Brabant deſerted by many of its inhabitants.

THEY ſoon experienced theſe advantages, by the removal of ſo great a number of the inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders to Amſterdam and Middleburg, that it became neceſſary to extend the walls of thoſe cities in order to contain them. And thus the trade of the confederated States was greatly augmented, while that of the ſouthern provinces received a wound, of which it never afterwards recovered. The Prince of Parma had

had provided carefully againſt this event, ſo fatal to the proſperity of his late acquiſitions, by the length of time which he allowed to the Proteſtants for diſpoſing of their effects, and by the mildneſs of his adminiſtration; but, beſides that their averſion to the Spaniſh government was become unconquerable, and that for ſome years paſt they had taſted the ſweets of liberty, they were too ſincerely attached to the reformed religion, to bear the thoughts of ever complying with the Catholic, or even to endure thoſe reſtraints to which it behoved them, during their ſtay at Antwerp, to ſubmit. Philip's bigotry had, in the time of the Duke of Alva, tranſplanted great numbers of his ſubjects, together with their wealth and manufactures, into foreign ſtates, and it now increaſed the power of the revolted provinces, at the expence of thoſe which had returned to their allegiance. The Dutch began, not long after this period, to puſh their commerce to a greater extent than ever. They were more able than formerly to ſupport the burden of the war; and in a few years afterwards they found themſelves in a capacity, not only to defend their infant ſtate, but to attack their powerful adverſary, with ſplendour and ſucceſs, in the moſt diſtant regions of the globe.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XX.

ALTHOUGH the proſperity of the United Provinces was, in the iſſue, greatly augmented by that increaſe of inhabitants which they received from the conquered towns; yet, at the preſent period, their ſituation was more alarming and critical than it had ever been ſince the commencement of the war. The Prince of Parma was an enemy more formidable in every reſpect than the Duke of Alva; ſuperior to him in military, and ſtill more in political abilities; and the more to be dreaded by the confederacy, on account of the moderation and equity which he diſplayed in his treatment of the people who had ſubmitted to his arms. Almoſt the whole of Brabant

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Brabant and Flanders, except Sluys and Oſtend, was already conquered; and by his reduction of Antwerp, he had acquired a numerous fleet which he knew well how to make ſubſervient to the operations of his land-forces, in the further proſecution of the war.

They offer the Sovereignty to the King of France.

THE States were more ſenſible than ever of their inability to defend themſelves, without the aſſiſtance of ſome foreign power. In their treaty with the Duke of Anjou, they had diſcovered great ſolicitude in guarding againſt the annexation of the provinces to the crown of France; but ſoon after the death of the Prince of Orange, they were perſuaded that with their moſt ſtrenuous efforts it would be impoſſible for them long to preſerve their independence, and that they muſt either ſubmit to Philip, or become the ſubjects of ſome other ſovereign, poſſeſſed of power ſufficient to defend them. Having towards the concluſion of the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-four, deliberated maturely on the ſubject, they heſitated for ſome time between the King of France and the Queen of England; but they came at laſt to fix their choice on the former, partly becauſe they believed it would be eaſier for Henry than for Elizabeth, to afford them aſſiſtance and ſupport; and partly becauſe, at Henry's death, his crown

would devolve on the King of Navarre, in whoſe hands they believed that both their religion and liberty would be ſecure. BOOK XX. 1585.

THAT the offer which they reſolved to make to the French monarch would be readily accepted, they could not doubt, when they conſidered that the principal reaſon why he had formerly declined to eſpouſe their cauſe, was their refuſing to conſent to his ſucceſſion, in the event of his brother's death. They could not but ſuppoſe that his ambition would be highly flattered with the opportunity of making ſo great an addition to his hereditary dominions; and they were not ignorant of the reſentment which he bore towards the King of Spain, who, under the maſk of friendſhip, had long fomented the troubles of his kingdom.

HENRY was not inſenſible to the force of theſe incentives. He gave the ambaſſadors whom the States had ſent to him on this occaſion, the moſt gracious reception; aſſured them of his gratitude for the truſt and confidence which the States were pleaſed to repoſe in him; and bade them rely upon him for every mark of friendſhip in his power to beſtow. But as their propoſal was of too much importance to be haſtily embraced, he deſired they would deliver

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deliver it in writing, that it might be ſubmitted to the reviſal of his counſellors.

State of parties in France.

HENRY would not thus have delayed giving them a deciſive anſwer, if he had been at liberty either to purſue his own inclinations, or to conſult the intereſt of France. Peace indeed had been eſtabliſhed between the inveterate factions, into which his kingdom was divided; and the Catholic league was apparently extinct. But the cauſes to which that pernicious confederacy owed its birth, ſtill ſubſiſted; and it required a much more dexterous and ſteady hand than that of Henry, to guide the reins of government, in ſuch a manner as to prevent the paſſions of the parties from breaking out again with as much violence as before. Henry Duke of Guiſe, ſon of the celebrated Francis, was ſuperior to his father in exterior accompliſhments, and not inferior to him either in military or political abilities. Like his father too, he was actuated with the moſt inordinate ambition; and could not endure that inſignificance to which the King's averſion to his bold aſpiring character had reduced him. Enraged at being excluded from the government of the ſtate, while all the power which he and his adherents had formerly enjoyed was engroſſed by the minions of the King, he reſolved either to compel

pel Henry to redreſs his grievances, or to deprive him of his crown. With the moſt indefatigable induſtry he applied himſelf to the proſecution of his deſign. His emiſſaries were ſpread every where; the kingdom ſwarmed with anonymous letters; and the pulpit reſounded with the imminent danger to which the church was expoſed. "For the King, it was ſaid, notwithſtanding his pretenſions to ſanctity, had either no religion at all, or was ſecretly attached to that of the Hugonots; for whom he had, in his late treaty with them, diſcovered the moſt unjuſtifiable partiality." This alone was ſufficient to rouſe the indignation of every faithful ſon of the church; but there was ground for the moſt alarming apprehenſions, when it was conſidered, that the Duke of Anjou being now dead, and the King without any hopes of iſſue, the crown muſt (if the people did not exert themſelves with vigour to prevent it) be inherited by the King of Navarre, a relapſed heretic, and a determined enemy of their holy faith[a]. BOOK XX. 1585.

By theſe means the Duke of Guiſe united more than one half of the kingdom in a fanatical but firm confederacy, with which he hoped to controul, and in time to annihilate the authority of the King. In order to gain The Catholic league.

[a] Memoires de la ligue, tom. iii.

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greater reſpect to this confederacy, he placed at the head of it Charles, Cardinal[b] of Bourbon, a zealous Catholic, far advanced in years, and noted for the weakneſs of his underſtanding. Guiſe intended this prelate for Henry's ſucceſſor in the event of the death or depoſition of that Prince; and he expected under him to engroſs the whole adminiſtration, and to pave the way for his own acceſſion to the throne.

THE King of Spain was not an unconcerned ſpectator of theſe tranſactions, in a kingdom, to the affairs of which he had, for ſeveral years, given the moſt particular attention. For, beſides the deep concern, which, agreeably to his general ſyſtem of politics, he had ever taken in all the conteſts between the Catholics and Proteſtants in almoſt every European ſtate, he was greatly intereſted to prevent the King of Navarre (whoſe dominions he held unjuſtly) from aſcending the throne of France; and there was no other means, he knew, by which he could deter the French monarch from lending aſſiſtance to the United Provinces, but to furniſh him with employment at home.

His views.

MOVED by this laſt conſideration, he had given aſſiſtance to the league, when it was firſt

[b] Uncle to the King of Navarre.

formed

formed by the ſame factious leaders ſome years before. He was now more determined than ever to ſupport it; prompted partly by the motives that have been mentioned, and partly by this conſideration, that, by fomenting the diſturbances in France, he would exhauſt the ſtrength of that mighty monarchy, and thereby either acquire poſſeſſion of it himſelf, or be at leaſt delivered from all dread of that power, which he believed to be the only one in Europe able to counteract his deſigns.

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His treaty with the Duke of Guiſe.

HAVING ſome time before the preſent period revived his negociations with the Duke of Guiſe and the other heads of the league, he gave orders to his commiſſioners, Moreo, and Baptiſta Taſſi, to form an alliance with them without delay. And it was accordingly concluded between the Spaniſh envoys on the one hand, and the Dukes of Guiſe and Mayenne, and the Sieur de Menneville, agent for the Cardinal of Bourbon, on the other, at Joinville, on the ſecond of February one thouſand five hundred and eighty-five, upon the following conditions:

"THAT in caſe the preſent King of France ſhould die without male iſſue, the Cardinal of Bourbon ſhould, as firſt Prince of the blood, be declared King; and all thoſe perſons excluded

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from the ſucceſſion, who were either heretics themſelves, or favourers of heretics.

"THAT the Cardinal of Bourbon ſhould, in the event of his ſucceeding to the crown, ratify the peace of Chateau-Cambreſis, between the courts of France and Spain.

"THAT he ſhould prohibit the exerciſe of every religion but the Catholic, within his dominions.

"THAT he ſhould reſtore to Philip all the places which had been taken from him by the Hugonots, and aſſiſt him in ſubduing his rebellious ſubjects in the Netherlands.

"THAT, on the other hand, Philip ſhould contribute fifty thouſand crowns a month, for the ſupport of the confederacy, beſides aſſiſting it with a ſufficient number of troops, till hereſy ſhould be utterly extirpated. That he ſhould take the Cardinal of Bourbon, the lords of the houſe of Guiſe, and all others who ſhould accede to the league, under his protection; and that neither of the contracting parties ſhould enter into any treaty with the King of France, without mutual conſent."

BESIDES

BESIDES theſe conditions, which were committed to writing, and ſubſcribed, Philip engaged to pay annually the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns to the Duke of Guiſe, to be diſpoſed of by him as he ſhould judge moſt conducive to the intereſt of the league. And it was agreed, that this whole tranſaction ſhould be concealed, till a more convenient ſeaſon for divulging it. 1585.

HENRY, however, received intelligence of the congreſs; and from former experience it was eaſy for him to conjecture the purpoſe for which it had been held. Soon after this, the embaſſy from the States of Holland arrived, and was received in the manner above mentioned. Mendoza, the Spaniſh reſident, could not be ignorant of what had paſſed at Joinville; yet he complained to Henry of his kind reception of the Dutch ambaſſadors, as being inconſiſtent with the friendſhip which he owed to the Catholic King. Henry replied to this complaint, with a degree of firmneſs and dignity, which it had been happy for himſelf, and for his ſubjects, if he could have maintained uniformly in his conduct: "I do not, ſaid he, conſider the people of the Netherlands as rebels, but as men, whoſe patience has been worn out by oppreſſion. Humanity and juſtice incline me to take an intereſt in the diſtreſs of a neighbouring nation, once ſubject to the crown

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of France. I have not however as yet reſolved to concern myſelf in their affairs. I am unwilling to violate that peace which ſubſiſts between your maſter and me; although I know, that, on his part, it has been violated. My reſolution will appear, when I think fit to diſcloſe it. In the mean time I deſire it may be remembered, that I ſhall not be intimidated by the threats of the King of Spain; and that I am maſter of my conduct, and at liberty, without being anſwerable to any other Prince, to make either peace or war, as I incline."

Henry heſitates as to accepting the proffered ſovereignty.

AMONG Henry's counſellors were ſome who exhorted him to embrace ſo tempting an opportunity as the preſent, of advancing the glory of his crown. The perplexed ſituation of his affairs, they ſaid, ought rather to determine him to enter into foreign war, than to deter him from engaging in it. It would prove the moſt effectual remedy for thoſe noxious humours with which his kingdom was diſtempered, by giving a new direction to that reſtleſs ſpirit with which his ſubjects had long been actuated; and it would be found the ſureſt method of diſappointing the deſigns of the Duke of Guiſe, by depriving him of the aſſiſtance of the Catholic King, to whom it would furniſh ſufficient employment in defence of his own dominions.

SUCH

SUCH was the reaſoning of thoſe who adviſed Henry to accept of the ſovereignty of the United Provinces. It was plauſible, but not ſubſtantial or ſolid. "For where," ſaid others of his counſellors, ſeconded by the Queen-mother, "can troops be found in France ſufficient to carry on a war againſt an enemy ſo powerful as the King of Spain? Upon ſuch of the Catholics as are in league with that monarch, the King can have no reliance. On the contrary, they would unite with Philip againſt their native ſovereign. To compoſe an army of ſuch Catholics as retain their fidelity, and to ſend that army to the Netherlands, would be to abandon the kingdom naked and defenceleſs to the Duke of Guiſe. And were the King to apply to the Proteſtants for aſſiſtance, what purpoſe would that meaſure ſerve, but to excite an univerſal alarm, and to determine all the Catholics in the kingdom to accede to the league?"

He declines accepting it.

HENRY could not reſiſt the force of theſe arguments. Finding himſelf therefore thus fettered by his factious ſubjects, he reſolved, though with much reluctance, to decline the tempting offer which the States had made to him; and having called their ambaſſadors, he informed them, that the unhappy ſituation of his domeſtic affairs rendered it impoſſible for

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him at preſent to accept of their offer, or to undertake their protection; but that he would not fail to recommend their cauſe to the Queen of England in the warmeſt manner [c].

Anxiety of the Queen of England.

ELIZABETH had formerly approved of their election of the Duke of Anjou, and had even contributed her endeavours to promote it. But ſhe dreaded the union of the provinces with France, as an event which would have raiſed the maritime power of that kingdom to a ſuperiority above her own, and therefore ſhe had regarded with a jealous eye, the making a tender to Henry of their ſovereignty. No ſooner was ſhe informed of that monarch's reſolution to decline accepting it, than her anxiety taking another direction, ſhe dreaded that their deſpair would induce them to throw themſelves on the mercy of their former ſovereign, whoſe ſevereſt vengeance, ſhe could not doubt, would be poured out upon her, as ſoon as his affairs in the Netherlands were compoſed.

The States make her an offer of the ſovereignty.

IN order to prevent this effect of Henry's refuſal, which was a more immediate object of her dread than any conſequence that could have ariſen from his acceptance, ſhe ſent an

[c] Reidan, lib. iv. Davila, lib. vii. Van Meteren, lib. xii. p. 76.

ambaſ-

ambaſſador to rouſe their drooping ſpirits, and to give them hopes of her protection. The States were encouraged by this mark of her attention, to form the reſolution of making the ſame offer of their ſovereignty to her, which they had made to the King of France: and ambaſſadors were accordingly appointed, and ſent over to England in the month of July one thouſand five hundred and eighty-five.

THESE ambaſſadors employed every argument which they could deviſe, to prevail upon Elizabeth to yield to their deſire. After teſtifying in the ſtrongeſt terms that gratitude with which the States were penetrated on account of the favour which ſhe had already afforded them; they repreſented, "That they had now more occaſion than ever for her friendſhip, and muſt ſink under the power of Philip, who poſſeſſed ſuch inexhauſtible reſources, if ſhe did not ſpeedily interpoſe in their behalf. But although the power of the confederacy was ſmall, when compared with thoſe mighty efforts which were made by the King of Spain to enſlave it, it was not unworthy of the Queen's attention and regard. Beſides poſſeſſing ſome important towns in Brabant, Flanders, and Guelderland, they were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Frieſland, in which there were many flouriſhing and well-fortified cities, capacious harbours, and

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and navigable rivers, from which the Queen's ſubjects would derive infinite advantage in the way of commerce; not to mention that, by the acceſſion of ſo numerous a fleet as that of the United Provinces, her navy would be able to give law to all the maritime powers in Europe. They were far from ſuppoſing that intereſt alone would determine the Queen to regard their preſent application; they had already experienced her generoſity, and they now addreſſed her as the ſovereign of a powerful kingdom, who had ſhewn that ſhe was touched with their calamities. It was their earneſt deſire, at this time, that ſhe would accept of the ſovereignty of the provinces, upon the ſame conditions on which their native Princes had enjoyed it, and that ſhe would henceforth conſider the people of the Netherlands as her faithful ſubjects, who would vie with thoſe of her native kingdom in demonſtrating their attachment to her perſon, and in advancing the glory of her reign."

ELIZABETH received this propoſal with much complacency, and aſſured the ambaſſadors, that they ſhould not return without carrying ſuch an anſwer along with them as would entirely ſatisfy the States; but before ſhe could be more particular in her reply, ſhe muſt conſider the affair with that attention which it deſerved, and hear the opinions of her counſellors.

THE

THE ſame thing happened on this occaſion in the court of England, as in that of France ſome months before. Elizabeth's miniſters were no leſs divided in their ſentiments than thoſe of Henry, and formed their judgments as courtiers are wont to do in matters of doubtful iſſue, comformably either to the natural temper of their mind, or to the inclination of the Prince.

1585. She deliberates on the ſubject.

THERE were ſome among them who thought, that both juſtice and prudence required that Elizabeth ſhould reject the offer that had been made to her; "for it was the common intereſt of princes, they ſaid, that ſubjects ſhould be retained in their allegiance; and to encourage them in the violation of it, was in reality to undermine the foundations of their own authority. The Queen had hitherto favoured the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, not as a free and independent nation, but as a people who were cruelly oppreſſed; and her intention had not been to enable them to renounce their allegiance, but to induce their King to treat them with greater equity and moderation. In this purpoſe they thought ſhe might ſtill perſiſt. But to acknowledge the States for ſovereigns, and to accept from their hands that ſovereignty which belonged to another, would not only be a violation of that juſtice which princes

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princes owe to one another, but might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences to her own repoſe. The King of Spain would not reſt ſatisfied till he had retaliated ſo great an injury. The ſtate of Ireland, and even that of England, where there was ſo great a number of Catholics devoted to his ſervice, would furniſh him with means of executing his deſign. And from fomenting a ſpirit of diviſion among her ſubjects, he would ſoon paſs to an open invaſion of her kingdom. "With *his* arms the ſpiritual thunders of the Roman pontiff would co-operate, and in that caſe ſuch a number of enemies might be excited againſt her as would endanger the ſtability of her throne."

But others of Elizabeth's counſellors were of opinion, that ſo inviting an opportunity as the preſent ought not to be neglected, and that the Queen could not, with reaſon, be accuſed of injuſtice for embracing it. The States, compelled by neceſſity, had, ſeveral years before the preſent period, aſſumed the ſovereignty into their own hands, and ſince that time they had conferred it upon the Duke of Anjou, whom the Queen had virtually recognized for their lawful ſovereign. The King of Spain had clearly forfeited his right to their obedience, by his violation of all the conditions on which that right was founded. "Notwithſtanding

ſtanding this, he will no doubt be highly of- BOOK
fended," continued they, "if the Queen ſhall XX.
think fit to liſten to the preſent application. 1585.
But can he be more an enemy to the Queen, than he has already ſhewn himſelf? Has he not long endeavoured to ſtir up her diſaffected ſubjects in Ireland? And in England does he not purſue the ſame hoſtile and inſidious deſigns? Has he not warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Queen of Scots? Does he not on every occaſion ſhew himſelf an implacable enemy to the Engliſh name? And what is it that has ſo long prevented him from declaring open war, but that his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands have hitherto afforded full employment to all the forces which he could ſpare from his ambitious enterpriſes? When he ſhall have diſengaged himſelf from his embarraſſments in the Low Countries, can we doubt that he will turn his arms againſt the Queen? It is the part of prudence to provide againſt a diſtant as well as againſt an immediate danger; and prudence and a regard to ſelf-preſervation require that the Queen ſhould, to the utmoſt of her power, ſupport the people of the United Provinces, becauſe in their preſervation the peace and ſecurity of her own dominions are involved. If ſhe reject the application of the States, and either give them no aſſiſtance or ſuch only as has hitherto been granted, they will ſoon be over-

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overpowered, and Philip will then be not only at greater leiſure, but much more able than at preſent to execute his deſigns. But if the Queen accept of the advantageous offer that is made to her, and exert herſelf with vigour in defence of this people, who deſire to become her ſubjects, ſhe will encounter her enemy at a diſtance from home, ſhe will be powerfully aſſiſted by a brave and determined ally, and with her fleet acting in concert with that of the States, ſhe will be able to maintain the tranquillity of her kingdom."

Elizabeth undertakes the protection of the States.

ELIZABETH readily perceived the force of this reaſoning: ſhe believed that an open breach with Philip was unavoidable, and ſhe thought it more eligible to begin hoſtilities herſelf now, than to wait till her adverſary ſhould be in a condition to execute his deſigns againſt her. She reſolved, however, to decline accepting the ſovereignty which the States had offered her, either becauſe ſhe apprehended that it would prove a greater burden than ſhe was able to ſupport, or becauſe ſhe was afraid of exciting the jealouſy of the neighbouring powers. But while for theſe reaſons ſhe deſired that the ſupreme authority might ſtill remain in the hands of the States, ſhe reſolved to afford them her protection; and with this view, after having received particular informa-

tion concerning their ſtrength, and the number of troops neceſſary for carrying on the war, ſhe concluded a treaty with them, of which the principal articles were thoſe which follow: "That the Queen ſhould furniſh the States with five thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, to be commanded by a Proteſtant general of her appointment, and to be paid by her during the continuance of the war. That after the concluſion of the war the States ſhould repay her expences, and that the towns of Brille and Fluſhing, and the fort of Rammekins, ſhould be immediately delivered to her, and ſhould remain in her poſſeſſion till ſhe were fully reimburſed. That the commander of the forces, the governors of provinces and towns, and all the officers and ſoldiers, ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the Queen and the States. That in caſe it ſhould be found expedient to employ a fleet in the common cauſe, the States ſhould furniſh the ſame number of ſhips as the Queen, to be commanded by an Engliſh admiral. That the commander in chief, and two Engliſh miniſters reſiding in the Netherlands, ſhould be admitted into the aſſembly of the States. That none of the rights or privileges of the confederated provinces ſhould be violated, and no change introduced in the eſtabliſhed religion or government. And laſtly, That neither of the two contracting parties ſhould, without mutual

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mutual consent, make peace, or enter into an alliance with the King of Spain[d]."

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Leicester appointed commander in chief.

This treaty was no sooner ratified, than Elizabeth issued orders for carrying it into execution. The Earl of Leicester (to whom this wise Princess had been long attached in a degree which far exceeded his merit and services) was appointed General of the forces, and went over with them to Holland in the beginning of the year 1586, accompanied by more than five hundred gentlemen, who intended to serve under him as volunteers. Leicester had neither courage, capacity, moderation, nor integrity, to qualify him for the arduous task that was assigned him, but his defects were concealed under the glare of superficial accomplishments; with which, as he had long deceived the penetration of Elizabeth, he now imposed upon the people of the Netherlands, and excited in them the most flattering and delusive hopes. From his first arrival, they regarded him as the restorer of their fallen state, and profusely heaped upon him every mark of honour which their immoderate fondness could devise. Not satisfied with receiving him rather as a Prince and a Conqueror, who had already wrought their deliverance, than as the subject of an ally by

[d] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. v. Camden, an. 1585.

whom

whom he had been ſent to their aſſiſtance, they conferred upon him the offices of Governor General of the confederacy, and Commander in Chief of all their forces by ſea and land. BOOK XX. 1586.

By this precipitate meaſure, of which they had afterwards the greateſt reaſon to repent, they intended to gratify the Queen, and if poſſible, to induce her to take a deeper intereſt in their affairs. But they were exceedingly diſappointed in their expectations; ſhe was offended at their artifice, and immediately diſpatched her Vice-chancellor[c] to complain of their conduct, as being calculated to make the world believe her inſincere in the declaration which ſhe had publiſhed, of intending only to aſſiſt the provinces, and not to undertake the abſolute charge of their protection. She deſired that the States would recall that authority which they had conferred on Leiceſter, and commanded him to reſt contented with the portion of power which ſhe had given him. But it is extremely doubtful whether Elizabeth was in reality as much incenſed on this occaſion as ſhe appeared to be. She ſoon diſcovered an unwillingneſs to mortify her favourite's vanity and ambition; lent a favourable ear to the apology that was made to her by the States, and

[c] Sir Thomas Heneage.

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did not inſiſt on a compliance with her requeſt. Whatever was her motive for this conduct, Leiceſter was inſtalled in the government, and inveſted with as ample powers as were conſiſtent with the fundamental laws of the conſtitution; after which he proceeded to make preparations for putting a ſtop to the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms.

Operations of the Prince of Parma.

THE Prince of Parma, on the other hand, was no leſs active in preparing for the further proſecution of the war. After the acquiſition of ſo many important towns, he had conceived the moſt ſanguine expectations of being able ſoon to complete the reduction of the revolted provinces. But by the interpoſition of Elizabeth he perceived his victory ſnatched from him, when he thought himſelf upon the point of reaping it, and was exceedingly diſappointed and chagrined. Finding himſelf however ſtill ſuperior to his enemy in the field, he reſolved to improve this advantage, and as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, to proceed with his wonted vigour.

The ſiege of Grave.

THE confederates had, notwithſtanding their loſs of Maeſtricht above related, been able to keep poſſeſſion of two conſiderable towns on the Maeſe, Grave in Brabant, and Venlo in Guelderland. Farneſe was deſirous to make

himſelf maſter of theſe two places before he ſhould turn his arms againſt the northern provinces; and early in the Spring he ſent Count Charles of Manſveldt to form the blockade of Grave. Manſveldt executed his commiſſion with little oppoſition, by caſting a bridge over the Maeſe, and by building forts and redoubts not only on the dykes of the river, but on the land ſide of the town, where he pitched his camp, and cut off all communication between the beſieged and the country behind them. The town was defended by an Engliſh garriſon, under the command of a young nobleman, Baron de Hemert, a native of Guelderland. Leiceſter, ſenſible that the place was of the greateſt importance for preventing the enemy from advancing into the provinces of Guelderland and Utrecht, went himſelf as far as the city of Utrecht, and from thence ſent Count Hohenloe and Colonel Norris with two thouſand five hundred foot, partly Dutch and partly Engliſh, to the relief of the beſieged. The Dutch arrived firſt, and having taken one of the Spaniſh forts on the banks of the Maeſe, oppoſite to Grave, they had begun to fortify themſelves upon the dyke, when Manſveldt, having received intelligence of their arrival, ſent three thouſand Spaniards over the bridge already mentioned. By theſe troops the confederates were compelled to abandon their

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fortifications, and to retire along the dyke; but Norris and the Engliſh forces coming up to their aſſiſtance, a bloody battle enſued. The Engliſh, though long inured to peace, gave proof on this occaſion of that ſtrong military genius by which they have ſo often diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their wars upon the continent. They drove the veteran Spaniards before them with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, killed ſeveral hundreds of them, beſides ſeven captains, and a great number of inferior officers, and compelled them to continue their retreat till they reached their fortifications on the bridge. There they were ſupported by freſh troops ſent by Manſveldt from the camp. The battle was renewed, and both parties fought for ſome time with the ſame fury as before, till they were ſeparated by a violent ſtorm of wind and rain, which rendered all their efforts ineffectual. Through this accident the Spaniards ſtill retained poſſeſſion of the bridge, but the rain which fell furniſhed Count Hohenloe with the means of relieving the beſieged. The river being ſwelled to an uncommon height, he broke down the dyke near Raveſtein, which ſtands on the ſame ſide with Grave, and having laid all the country between Raveſtein and Grave under water, he conveyed to the beſieged, ammunition, proviſions, and a ſupply of troops, acroſs the inundation.

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THE Prince of Parma, alarmed with this ſucceſs of the confederates, ſet out for Grave with his main army; and in a few days after his arrival before the place, two batteries were planted, and a part of the wall was demoliſhed. It might ſtill however have been defended for a conſiderable time; and De Hemert, the Governor, gave the Earl of Leiceſter the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would hold out to the laſt. But his courage failing, he began to talk of the neceſſity of ſurrendering; and although only two or three of his officers approved of his deſign, while all the reſt remonſtrated againſt it as cowardly and diſhonourable, he reſolved to put it in execution; and upon the ſeventh of June, before the breach was practicable, or the enemy had taken any meaſures for an aſſault, he ſent to the Prince of Parma a propoſal to capitulate. The Prince readily granted him the moſt favourable conditions, and ſuffered him and the garriſon to march out with their arms and baggage. But as De Hemert was undeſerving of this honour, he ſoon had reaſon to repent of the infamous part into which his cowardice had betrayed him. Both he and the officers who had concurred with him, were condemned by a court-martial to be beheaded. The ſentence was acknowledged to be juſt, yet De Hemert's fate excited great commiſeration in his countrymen. He was

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too young for the important truſt which had been committed to him; there was no reaſon to ſuſpect him of treachery or corruption, and he ſolicited in the moſt earneſt manner to have his life ſpared, and to be permitted to engage in ſome perilous enterpriſe in which he might retrieve his honour. But Leiceſter thinking it neceſſary at this time, for the eſtabliſhment of military diſcipline, which had been greatly relaxed, to give an example of ſeverity, rejected all the applications which were made in his behalf[f].

Siege of Venlo.

IMMEDIATELY after the ſurrender of Grave, Farneſe led his army, amounting to twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, to beſiege Venlo; and he made the greater haſte in his expedition againſt that place, the only one on the ſide of the Maeſe which remained in the hands of the confederates, as he underſtood that the garriſon was weak, and that the celebrated Martin Schenck, who commonly reſided in it, had, by Leiceſter's orders, marched with the greateſt part of his troops to ſecure the town of Gueldres. This man, a native of Guelderland, and a ſoldier of fortune, is celebrated by all the cotemporary hiſtorians, on account of his extraordinary valour, activity, and en-

[f] Meteren, p. 403. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. ii. and Strada.

terpriſe,

terprise. Having first attached himself to the Spanish party in the Netherlands, he performed for that party several important services, but thinking himself dishonoured by a preference which the General bestowed on a Spanish officer, he had deserted to the States. Schench no sooner heard that the Spanish army had begun the siege of Venlo, than he set out with a body of horse in order to throw himself into the place. Finding it completely invested on every side, he attacked the besiegers in the middle of the night, and having penetrated beyond the General's tent, he continued to advance till he had almost reached one of the gates of the town: but he could not enter, by reason of certain barricades which Farnese had raised to prevent the sallies of the garrison. Before he had time to demolish these, the whole camp was up in arms, and obliged him to abandon his attempt. He fought his way back through the thickest of the enemy, and escaped with the loss of between forty and fifty men.* He made several other vigorous efforts for the relief of the besieged, but they were all rendered abortive by the foresight and vigilance of the Prince of Parma, who repelled his attacks; and, in spite of the annoyance which he gave him from without, kept up an incessant fire upon the town till a great part of the wall was demolished. The different nations of which

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BOOK XX. 1586. the army conſiſted were diſputing with each other for the honour of beginning the aſſault, when the beſieged, dreading the fatal conſequences that might follow, ſurrendered the town on nearly the ſame conditions with thoſe which had been granted to the citizens of Grave. The Prince of Parma found it neceſſary to employ all his authority to prevent the ſoldiers, whom the capitulation diſappointed of their prey, from offering violence to the inhabitants; and he gave a proof of his reſpect for Schench, by treating his wife and ſiſter in the moſt honourable manner, and furniſhing them with his own coach to carry them to whatever place they ſhould incline [s].

The ſiege and deſtruction of Nuys.

FROM Venlo, Farneſe went without delay and inveſted Nuys, which belongs to the biſhopric of Cologn, but was at that time in the poſſeſſion of the States.

GEBHERT de Truſches, the Archbiſhop and Elector of Cologn, having, about three years before the preſent period, abjured the Catholic religion, and married, attempted ſtill to retain his biſhopric and electorate; but his canons, ſupported by the Pope and Emperor, excommunicated him; and having made war againſt

[s] Meteren. Strada.

him,

him, in which they were aſſiſted by the Prince of Parma, they obliged him to take refuge in Holland, and elected in his room Erneſt, ſon of the Duke of Bavaria. The Count de Meurs, one of his partiſans, ſoon after recovered for him, by ſurpriſe, the town of Nuys, and obtained from the States a garriſon, with which he had been able not only to defend that town againſt the force of Erneſt, but to overrun the country, and do infinite miſchief to the Catholic inhabitants. Erneſt, unable to repreſs their irruptions, had gone himſelf in diſguiſe to the Prince of Parma to ſolicit his aſſiſtance, and it was in compliance with his requeſt, that Farneſe, poſtponing the proſecution of his deſigns againſt the northern provinces, engaged in his preſent enterpriſe. He knew that Philip regarded no undertaking as foreign to his intereſt, in which the ſecurity of the Catholic religion was concerned; and he dreaded that if the garriſon of Nuys was not checked in time, they might gather ſtrength, and perſuade ſome of the neighbouring Proteſtant Princes to eſpouſe their cauſe. Some hiſtorians affirm, that he was likewiſe prompted by the proſpect of that glory which he would acquire, ſhould he conquer, in a few weeks, as he expected, a town which Charles the Bold Duke of Burgandy had in vain attempted to reduce with an army of ſixty thouſand men in the ſpace of a year.

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In

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In this expectation he was not diſappointed. Through a misfortune which befel the garriſon in the perſon of Cloet the Governor, who, being dangerouſly wounded, was diſabled from attending to the operations of the defence, their reſolution failed; and in leſs than three weeks after the Prince's arrival before the town, they began to treat of a ſurrender. That he might ſave time, and deliver the town as entire as poſſible to the Elector, Farneſe agreed without any difficulty to an armiſtice; and he had begun to treat with the deputies of the beſieged, concerning the terms of capitulation, when the Italian and Spaniſh troops (who had been highly incenſed on account of his having prevented them from plundering the inhabitants of Venlo), being tranſported with a ſudden rage, ran forward in contempt of his authority, and aſſaulted the town on different ſides, while the garriſon, who truſted to the armiſtice, were off their guard. Meeting with little reſiſtance, they quickly ſcaled the walls, ſpread themſelves over the town, and butchered all who fell in their way, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. Nor was their barbarous cruelty ſatiated with the horrid carnage which they committed. Their fury being turned into madneſs, they ſpurned the thoughts of plunder, and ſet fire to the town; and as the wind was high, and moſt of the houſes were built of wood, it was in a few hours

hours conſumed to aſhes. Two churches only eſcaped, in which a number of women and children had taken refuge; and it was with difficulty that the Marquis del Guaſto prevailed upon the ſavage ſoldiers to ſpare the lives of thoſe trembling, miſerable remains of the inhabitants[g].

1586.

Siege of Rhineberg.

From this diſaſtrous ſcene, Farneſe, now Duke of Parma, by his father's death, directed his march towards Rhineberg; another place in the electorate of Cologn, of which, on account of its important ſituation, the States were extremely ſolicitous to retain poſſeſſion.

Operations of the Earl of Leiceſter.

The Earl of Leiceſter meanwhile had been employed in drawing together all the forces which could be ſpared from the garriſons of the towns and forts, and ſeemed determined not to ſuffer any more of the campaign to paſs without ſtriking ſome important ſtroke, which might ſatisfy the expectations of the confederates. But as his army, which conſiſted only of ſeven thouſand foot and one thouſand four hundred horſe, was inferior in number to the enemy, he durſt not hazard an engagement; but reſolved to attack ſome place of importance in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, in order

[g] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv.

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to induce the Duke of Parma to relinquiſh the ſiege of Rhineberg. He directed his march towards Zutphen, and in order to facilitate his deſign againſt that place, firſt attacked, and made himſelf maſter of the town of Doeſberg; after which he ſat down with his whole army before Zutphen, and began the ſiege in form.

He lays ſiege to Zutphen.

If he had followed the counſel that was given him, to ſecure certain paſſes which led to the town, it muſt unavoidably have fallen into his hands; as it was neither furniſhed with proviſions, nor with military ſtores. Of this the Duke of Parma had been particularly informed by Baptiſto Taſſi the Governor; and for this reaſon, although he had made progreſs in his operations againſt Rhineberg, he immediately raiſed the ſiege of that place, and haſtened with all his forces to the relief of Zutphen. As he was acquainted with the extremity to which the beſieged were reduced, he ſent the Italian cavalry, under the Marquis del Guaſto, before the reſt of the army, with a temporary ſupply; and ordered a numerous body of Spaniſh infantry to advance with the utmoſt expedition. Through Leiceſter's neglect to fortify the paſſes, a part of this ſupply was introduced into the town without any difficulty, in the night; and on the day following, Del Guaſto attempted to introduce the reſt. On this occaſion a fierce rencounter

rencounter happened between the Italian and Engliſh cavalry. At the firſt onſet the Italians were compelled to retire; but they ſoon returned to the charge. The action then became hot and obſtinate, and the iſſue remained for ſome time doubtful. Del Guaſto, ſeconded by ſeveral officers of diſtinguiſhed reputation, made every effort that could have been expected from the moſt experienced commander. But the Engliſh, led on by Colonel Norris and Sir Philip Sidney, proved a ſecond time victorious, and drove the Italians before them till they reached the Spaniſh infantry; when the Engliſh, being ignorant whether the whole Spaniſh army was at hand, thought it dangerous to advance. Of the Italians about one hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, and of the Engliſh thirty. But the latter paid dear for their victory, by their irreparable loſs of the brave and accompliſhed Sir Philip Sidney, who is celebrated by his cotemporaries, as a perſon of the moſt conſummate worth; and as he poſſeſſed the favour of Elizabeth, muſt, if it had been the will of heaven to prolong his life, have ſoon attained to the higheſt dignities in her power to beſtow. Soon after this rencounter, the Duke of Parma arrived with his whole army in order of battle; and Leiceſter, conſcious of the inferiority of his forces, drew them off from the ſiege, and ſuffered him to enter

1586.

Death of Sir Philip Sidney.

Leiceſter obliged to raiſe the ſiege, Oct. 12th.

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enter Zutphen without oppoſition. Here the Duke remained till he had viſited the fortifications, and laid in a ſufficient quantity of ammunition and proviſions; after which he repaſſed the Rhine, and having put garriſons into his new conqueſts, he ſet out for Bruſſels.

Leiceſter takes ſome forts near Zutphen.

His troops were no ſooner diſtributed into winter-quarters, than Leiceſter returned with his army towards Zutphen. He did not however intend to enter ſo late in the year upon the ſiege of the town itſelf, but only to make himſelf maſter of three forts on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which put it in the power of the Spaniards to make frequent incurſions into the territory of Veluwe. In this attempt he ſucceeded, and thereby deprived the Spaniards for a time of what had been the principal advantage which they derived from the poſſeſſion of Zutphen. After which, having ſtationed a part of his troops in theſe forts, he returned to the Hague, where the States had been appointed to convene.

Leiceſter's arbitrary and imprudent conduct.

This aſſembly had no great reaſon to be ſatisfied with their new Governor's management of the war; and they were highly diſcontented with his civil adminiſtration. During the courſe of thoſe military operations which have been related, he had treated them in

in many reſpects rather as a conquered province, than a free ſtate, to whoſe aſſiſtance he had been ſent by their friend and ally; and had ſhewn no leſs contempt of their fundamental laws, to which he knew they were unalterably attached, than to the conditions of their treaty with Elizabeth. Inſtead of regulating his conduct by the advice of the States or council, as gratitude and prudence required, he appears to have conceived an early prejudice againſt all thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, while he beſtowed his favour on a ſet of artful and deſigning men, of ſuſpected fidelity, who were obſequious to his caprice. BOOK XX. 1586.

By their counſel, he laid reſtrictions upon trade, which, if the States had not interpoſed with vigour, would have proved fatal to it; and which obliged many of thoſe Flemiſh merchants, who had lately ſettled in Holland and Zealand, to remove into foreign parts. By the ſame advice, he tampered with the coin, and made ſuch alterations in it as enriched his minions or himſelf, whilſt they impoveriſhed the provinces.

Innovations were introduced without the conſent of the States, in the manner of collecting the public money; and after it was collected,

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lected, inſtead of putting it, as the conſtitution required, into the hands of the treaſurer choſen by the States, Leiceſter ordered it to be delivered to a treaſurer of his own appointment, who refuſed to ſatisfy the States as to the purpoſes to which it was applied. Taxes were levied from the people, for paying not only all the ſoldiers in the garriſons, and all the country troops, but ſufficient likewiſe for the payment of between ſix and ſeven thouſand Germans; yet the ſoldiers in the garriſons were ſo ill paid, that the officers found it difficult to prevent a mutiny; and two thouſand Germans who had enliſted under the Count de Meurs, in hopes of receiving a certain ſum on their arrival in the Netherlands, being diſappointed, through the Governor's negligence, or the corruption of thoſe in whom he confided, returned to Germany without drawing their ſwords, at a time when their aſſiſtance was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the campaign.

In the treaty between the States and Elizabeth, it had been agreed, that when any vacancy ſhould happen in the government of a town, fort, or province, the Commander in chief ſhould fill it up with one of three perſons preſented to him by the States. To this agreement Leiceſter paid no regard, but appointed perſons to governments of great importance, not

not only without their being named by the States, but even when the States remonſtrated againſt his appointing them. Roland York, a Londoner, who had ſome years before been detected in treaſonable practices, of which they gave Leiceſter timely information, was notwithſtanding this intruſted with the charge of the principal fort near Zutphen, which commanded the country of Veluwe; and William Stanley, an Engliſh Catholic, who had been in the ſervice of Spain, was made Governor of Deventer, into which place Leiceſter, in contradiction to the treaty with Elizabeth, had put a garriſon of twelve hundred foot and two hundred horſe, conſiſting moſtly of Iriſh Papiſts. 1586.

BESIDES theſe and other inſtances of imprudent and arbitrary conduct, he diſguſted the Dutch troops by appointing Engliſh officers to command them. He compelled the people to furniſh him with carriages, and to ſerve in his army as pioneers; and in violation of what had ever been eſteemed a fundamental privilege of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, he obliged perſons, proſecuted by his tools, to leave the provinces in which they reſided, and to ſubmit to their trial in other provinces, where their proſecutors had greater influence to procure their condemnation[h].

[h] Van Meteren, lib. xiii. Grotius, lib. v.

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SUCH a complication of deſpotic meaſures in the government of a people jealous of their liberty, appears repugnant, whatever were the Governor's motives, to the very loweſt degree of prudence which we can ſuppoſe him to have poſſeſſed. It is not ſurpriſing that he was ſuſpected of having formed a plan to ſuppreſs the aſſembly of the States, and to aſſume an abſolute authority; but if his preſumption could impoſe upon him ſo far as to make him believe, that ſo wiſe a princeſs as Elizabeth would, from her partiality to him, and in open violation of her engagements, ſupport his uſurpation, yet his conduct was extremely ill calculated to promote his perfidious deſign. It diſguſted all the better ſort of thoſe who had influence in the provinces, and ſerved to diffuſe an univerſal alarm, before he had taken meaſures proper for ſecuring ſucceſs in his attempt.

The States remonſtrate.

THE States, however, ſenſible of their preſent dependence upon Elizabeth, reſolved to avoid an open rupture with her favourite, and, notwithſtanding what had paſſed, they received him on his arrival at the Hague with every mark of reſpect. They delivered to him a modeſt but firm remonſtrance, and intreated him with much earneſtneſs to redreſs their grievances. Leiceſter could not juſtify his conduct in any of the particulars that have been

been mentioned. He attempted, however, to make ſome apology for it, and aſſured the deputies, though with little ſincerity, that for the future he ſhould be careful to avoid giving them any juſt ground of offence. He added, that at preſent he was under a neceſſity of paſſing over to England, on account of certain diſturbances in that kingdom, which required his preſence. The States were extremely ſurpriſed at this intimation, as they expected that he would have proceeded immediately to reform the abuſes of which they had complained; but they were in ſome meaſure reconciled to his departure, by his agreeing to a propoſal which they made to him, that, till his return to the Low-Countries, his authority as Governor ſhould be lodged in the Council of State; and he accordingly executed a public deed to this effect on the twenty-fourth of November, although it ſoon afterwards appeared that he had done it only to avoid the trouble of any further ſolicitation upon the ſubject. He executed privately on the ſame day another deed, in which he reſerved to himſelf an excluſive authority over all the Governors of provinces, towns, and forts, and even deprived the Council of State of their wonted authority. This conduct, at once ſo cowardly and inſincere, alienated from him more than ever the affections of the States, and deſtroyed entirely the confidence which

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they had repoſed in him. It confirmed the opinion of thoſe who believed that he aſpired at the ſovereignty, and filled the minds of perſons of all ranks with the moſt alarming apprehenſions.

1587. Treachery of Roland York and William Stanley.

THE States had, as mentioned above, remonſtrated againſt the truſt committed to Roland York and William Stanley. Theſe men gave ſoon a fatal proof of the juſtneſs of the ſuſpicions which had been entertained of their fidelity. In a few weeks after Leiceſter's departure for England, they entered into a treacherous correſpondence with Baptiſto Taſſi, Governor of Zutphen, and began to prepare their meaſures for delivering to him the important fortreſſes which had been intruſted to their care. The Council of State received intelligence of their perfidious deſign; but they had not power to hinder them from putting it in execution. In the beginning of February, both Deventer and the fort oppoſite to Zutphen were given up to the Spaniards. York did not live long to enjoy the wages of his iniquity, and died in miſery, neglected and forgotten by thoſe to whom he had ſacrificed his honour; but Stanley, having perſuaded moſt of his troops to enter into the ſervice of Spain, and having uniformly profeſſed the Catholic religion (which Philip conſidered as an atonement for the moſt odious crimes),

crimes), was permitted to retain the government of Deventer, together with the ſame rank in the Spaniſh which he had enjoyed in the Engliſh army. This man, ſprung from a reſpectable family in England, had been concerned in Babington's conſpiracy in favour of the Queen of Scots, and was probably betrayed, by the dread of a diſcovery, into this unworthy conduct, which has involved his name in perpetual infamy.

THE news of theſe diſaſters ſpread grief and conſternation over the confederated provinces. They recalled the memory of the Duke of Anjou's attempt on Antwerp, and excited great anxiety and dread, leſt the examples of York and Stanley ſhould be imitated by the Governors of other forts and towns.

Prudence and moderation of the States.

THE States participated of the diſtreſs which the people felt on the preſent occaſion. They ſtill however maintained their wonted fortitude, and without regard to Leiceſter's reſentment, reſolved to provide, as well as their circumſtances would allow, for the preſervation of the commonwealth. In an aſſembly held at the Hague on the ſixth of February, after aſſerting their own ſupreme authority, they enacted, that during the abſence of the Earl of Leiceſter, Prince Maurice ſhould exerciſe the authority

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of Governor, and that all officers in their ſervice ſhould take an oath of obedience to *him*, and of fidelity to the States. To this reſolution, which was immediately publiſhed and enforced, two declarations were ſubjoined: the firſt, that the States did not thereby mean to abridge the authority which they had conferred on the Earl of Leiceſter, but only to reſtore to the inferior governors their legal rights and powers; and the ſecond, that they highly diſapproved of thoſe general reflections which had been thrown out againſt the Engliſh troops, on account of the late treachery of a few individuals; for there were bad as well as good men in every nation, and nothing could be more illiberal and unjuſt than ſuch undiſtinguiſhing reflections.

They repreſent their grievances to Elizabeth.

But while their conduct at home contained this mixture of firmneſs and moderation, they gave vent to their reſentment, in letters, which they appointed ſome of their number to carry to Elizabeth and Leiceſter; in which, after making mention of the truſt and confidence which they had placed in him, they entered into a full detail of their grievances.

Leicester was highly offended with theſe letters, and endeavoured to perſuade Elizabeth, that they had been written by a party who were his

his enemies, while the generality were well affected both to his perſon and government. There was indeed a numerous faction in the Netherlands, under the direction of the clergy, whom Leiceſter had attached to him by a punctilious attendance on public worſhip, and an affectation of zeal for the reformed religion. Theſe men not only concurred with his partiſans in England, in attempting to diſcredit the repreſentation of his conduct which the States had tranſmitted to Elizabeth, but ſtudied to controul the authority of the States at home, and endeavoured to inſpire the Queen with the moſt groundleſs prejudices againſt Prince Maurice and other popular leaders, through whoſe influence, they ſaid, the States had conceived a diſguſt againſt the Engliſh alliance, and were now no leſs alienated from the Queen than from the Earl of Leiceſter. Elizabeth did not hearken implicitly either to the States or their accuſers, but ſent over to Holland Lord Buckhurſt, a nobleman eſteemed for his prudence and moderation, to inquire into the ground of that contradictory information which ſhe had received, but chiefly with an intention to extinguiſh, as ſoon as poſſible, the ſpirit of animoſity and diviſion to which the Governor's imprudence had given riſe. Buckhurſt ſoon diſcovered the falſehood of thoſe inſinuations which Leiceſter's partiſans had propagated with regard to the deſigns of Prince Maurice,

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Lord Buckhurſt ſent to the Netherlands.

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and the diſaffection of the States; and he found no reaſon to call in queſtion any part of that remonſtrance which had been ſent to Elizabeth. He wiſely declined entering into any diſcuſſion of the points of difference between the oppoſite parties, approved in general of the conduct of the States ſince Leiceſter's departure, exhorted them to bury in oblivion what had paſſed, and reminded them of the miſchievous conſequences with which the want of harmony muſt be attended in the preſent critical ſituation of their affairs.

Elizabeth's partiality for Leiceſter.

THESE exhortations ſeemed to produce, in ſome meaſure, the deſired effect; the States appeared ſatisfied that Leiceſter ſhould ſtill retain the office of Governor; and Lord Buckhurſt carried back to Elizabeth ſuch a report of their diſpoſition, as was calculated to preſerve that amity which had hitherto ſubſiſted between her and them; but he ſcrupled not to condemn the conduct of her favourite, and accuſed him of being the cauſe of all the diſturbances which had happened. If any other of Elizabeth's courtiers had been guilty of the ſame indiſcretions with the Earl of Leiceſter, it is not to be doubted that he would have felt the weight of her reſentment. He had far exceeded the powers which ſhe had given him. By his miſconduct he had ſtrengthened the hands of her mortal enemy, the King of Spain.

And

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And by his miſconduct and arrogance together, he had almoſt involved her in diſſenſions with an ally whom ſhe had undertaken to defend, and with whom it was of the higheſt conſequence to her intereſt that ſhe ſhould maintain a perfect underſtanding. Yet ſuch was her partiality for this unworthy favourite, and ſo great the influence which he poſſeſſed, that he found means to turn her indignation from himſelf againſt his accuſer. Lord Buckhurſt incurred her diſpleaſure, and was even put under arreſt, as if *he*, and not Leiceſter, had been guilty[k].

Famine and peſtilence in the ſouthern provinces.

NOTHING could be more agreeable to the Duke of Parma than theſe diſtractions in the confederated provinces; but he was prevented from availing himſelf of them by the miſerable condition to which the provinces under his command were reduced by famine and peſtilence. The country, as well as the towns, in the ſouthern provinces, had of late ſuffered a prodigious diminution of inhabitants. Great numbers had forſaken their habitations, partly on account of their religion, and partly of the ravages which had been committed by the troops; and only a few of thoſe who remained, had either ſeed to ſow, or horſes and cattle to

[k] Meteren, lib. xiv. Bentivoglio, p. ii. lib. iv. Reidanus, lib. vi. Camden, an. 1587.

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cultivate their grounds. There had been almoſt no crop raiſed in the preceding year within the provinces, and the crops in the neighbouring countries had been worſe than uſual for ſeveral years. From Holland and Zealand the Flemings might have been abundantly ſupplied, but the confederated States, beſides prohibiting all communication with the ſouthern provinces, had placed guardſhips upon the coaſts, and in the mouths of the rivers, to prevent them from receiving ſupplies from foreign parts, in the hopes of weakening the Spaniſh army, or of compelling the frontier towns to return into the confederacy. This cruel policy was not attended with either of theſe effects. The Duke of Parma brought proviſions for his army from France, Germany, and England, at an immenſe expence, and he gave particular attention to the ſupplying of thoſe towns which lay neareſt to the United Provinces.

THOSE dreadful calamities which are the ordinary concomitants of famine, were felt chiefly in the interior parts, where great multitudes died of want, and of thoſe peſtilential diſeaſes which want and unwholeſome nouriſhment produced. In Antwerp, Bruſſels, and other places, many perſons of the better ranks in life, after ſelling their furniture and other effects to purchaſe food, were reduced to beg openly

openly in the ſtreets. In Brabant and Flanders ſeveral villages were entirely deſerted: and the cotemporary hiſtorians add, that from the ſolitude and deſolation of ſome parts of the country, wolves and other wild beaſts were ſo much multiplied, that beſides many perſons who periſhed in other places, upwards of a hundred were devoured by thoſe furious animals, within two miles of Ghent, in a country formerly one of the beſt cultivated and moſt populous in the Netherlands. 1587.

Prosperity of the United Provinces.

Such was the ſtate of the ſouthern provinces, which are by nature the richeſt, though governed by the Duke of Parma with ſuperior abilities. On the other hand, the maritime provinces were torn by factions, and governed by one who poſſeſſed neither moderation, prudence, nor capacity; yet the inhabitants were not only entirely free from thoſe calamities with which their neighbours were oppreſſed, but were richly furniſhed with all the neceſſaries of life, and daily increaſed in numbers. Every houſe was occupied, new ſtreets and new towns were built, and individuals grew richer every day, notwithſtanding the perpetual burden of an expenſive war. For theſe advantages the Dutch were indebted chiefly to their commerce, which had long been conſiderable, but was of late greatly

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greatly augmented by the multitude of manufacturers and merchants who flocked into Holland and Zealand, when Brabant and Flanders were broken off from the confederacy. The calamities of the latter provinces contributed ſtill more to increaſe the migration of people into the former, till they became the ſeat of the greateſt part of that wealth and induſtry, which for ages paſt had diſtinguiſhed the Netherlands above the reſt of Europe[1].

In this condition of the United Provinces, it may appear ſurpriſing, that during the ſpace of eight months no attempt was made by the confederates to recover any of the towns which had been taken from them; but diviſion here, and the want of capacity and vigour in the perſon intruſted with the reins of government, were attended with ſome of the ſame effects as were produced by the famine and peſtilence in the other provinces. Neither Prince Maurice nor the States had power at this time to enforce obedience to their commands, except in the provinces of Holland and Zealand. In the reſt, the partiſans of Leiceſter diſputed, and counteracted their authority; and thus, the Duke of Parma, notwithſtanding thoſe unſpeakable calamities in which the provinces under his

[1] Van Meteren, lib. iv. p. 434. Thuanus, lib. lxxxviii. p. 9.

government

government were involved, was ſooner ready than the confederates to reſume the operations of the war. BOOK XX. 1587.

OSTEND and Sluys were the only towns of importance in Flanders which had not ſubmitted to his arms. He now reſolved to attack the latter of theſe places; and, in order to conceal his deſign, he ſent Hautepeine and the Marquis Del Guaſto, with a body of troops, towards the Veluwe, as if he had intended to make his principal attack in that quarter. This artifice had the effect which he deſired. Prince Maurice and Count Hohenloe were immediately ſent to the Veluwe with the army of the States; and in the mean time the Duke turned ſuddenly towards Sluys. This place, which lies at a little diſtance from the coaſt, communicates with the ſea by a ſpacious canal, capable of receiving the largeſt ſhips. By this canal, which ſeparates Sluys from the Iſle of Cadſand, the town is rendered inacceſſible by land on the weſt and north; and all the ground on the eaſt is ſo broken and interſected by an infinite number of ſmaller canals derived from the larger, that it is impracticable to approach the place except by a neck of land on the ſouth, leading towards Damme and Bruges. Sluys lies at the diſtance of nearly five miles from Oſtend on the ſouth, The ſiege of Sluys. Beginning of June.

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ſouth, and from Fluſhing on the north; from the former of which it might receive aſſiſtance by land, and from the latter by ſea. It was therefore the Duke of Parma's firſt object to intercept the communication of the beſieged with theſe two places, and for this purpoſe he began with attacking the fort of Blackenberg, which ſtands half-way between Sluys and Oſtend. As the garriſon were utterly unprepared for reſiſtance againſt ſo vigorous an attack, he ſoon compelled them to ſurrender; immediately after which, he proceeded with a part of his forces to the Iſle of Cadſand. At that place, after erecting a fort on the banks of the great canal, nearer the ſea than Sluys, he had recourſe to the ſame expedient which he had employed ſo ſucceſsfully at Antwerp, and blocked up the canal by a bridge of ſhips ſtrongly bound together, and well furniſhed with troops and artillery.

HAVING thus cut off the only channels of communication by which the friends of the beſieged could relieve them, he began to make his approaches to the place itſelf on that ſide which looks towards Bruges, on which alone it was acceſſible. Even there the ground was ſo wet, as to increaſe exceedingly the labour of working the trenches; and the beſieged had, in order to keep the enemy at a diſtance,

raiſed a ſtrong redoubt beyond the ditch. The garriſon conſiſted of about one thouſand ſix hundred men, partly Engliſh and partly Dutch, commanded by Colonel Groenvelt, one of the braveſt officers in the ſervice of the States. In the beginning of the ſiege they made ſeveral vigorous ſallies, in which they gave the moſt ſhining proofs of intrepidity. But finding that although in theſe ſallies they did great execution among the enemy, their own numbers ſuffered conſiderable diminution, Groenvelt reſolved to reſtrain them for the future from advancing beyond the redoubt. This redoubt they defended for ſome time with great bravery, and frequently repulſed the aſſailants; but they were obliged at laſt to yield to ſuperior numbers, and to retire within the town.

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In carrying forward the trenches, Farneſe encountered difficulties from the ſoftneſs of the ground, and the inceſſant fire of the beſieged, that were almoſt inſurmountable. Many of his troops were killed, and the Marquis of Renti, La Motte, and ſeveral others of his principal officers were dangerouſly wounded.

In the mean time Prince Maurice and Count Hohenloe had entered Brabant, and after deſtroying a great number of little towns and villages, had directed their march towards Bois-le-Duc,

Return of Leiceſter from England.

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Bois-le-Duc, hoping that, in order to ſave that place, the Duke of Parma would quit the ſiege of Sluys. But before they had taken the fort of Engelem, which lay in their way to Bois-le-Duc, they were informed that the Earl of Leiceſter, who had long been impatiently expected, had at laſt arrived at Fluſhing with a reinforcement of troops. Maurice ſet out inſtantly, with ſome cohorts, to meet him, leaving Hohenloe with the reſt of the forces to proſecute the enterpriſe againſt Engelem and Bois-le-Duc. When Maurice had joined Leiceſter, the confederate army was nearly equal to that of the beſiegers. Leiceſter ſet ſail from Fluſhing on the twenty-ninth of June, and in a few hours reached the canal of Sluys. But after examining the bridge, redoubts, and forts, with which Farneſe had blocked up the paſſage, he judged it impracticable in that way to reach the town. Between the deſire of accompliſhing his deſign, and the difficulty which he muſt encounter in carrying it into execution, he balanced for ſome days, and at length he ſteered his courſe for Oſtend, with the reſolution to lead his troops from thence by land to the relief of the beſieged. In the proſecution of this latter deſign, he ſhewed no greater ſpirit than in that of the former. To open his way from Oſtend to Sluys, it was neceſſary he ſhould make himſelf maſter of the fort of Blackenberg. He accordingly laid ſiege to that fort,

His feeble attempts to raiſe the ſiege of Sluys.

fort, and had begun to batter it with his cannon; but he was no ſooner informed that the Duke of Parma was upon his march to give him battle, than he drew off his troops from Blackenberg, retired haſtily in the night to Oſtend, and ſoon afterwards returned to Zealand. 1587.

THE Duke of Parma reſumed with freſh ardour the operations of the ſiege, and having at laſt, though with incredible labour, puſhed his trenches near enough for erecting a battery, he ſoon laid a great part of the wall in ruins. He would then have attempted an aſſault, had he not perceived that the beſieged had raiſed within the wall a half moon, which they had fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner. Laying aſide therefore all thoughts of taking the town by ſtorm, he reſolved to employ the ſlower method of filling up the ditch, and working mines; and in theſe operations, againſt which the beſieged made the moſt vigorous oppoſition, near three weeks were ſpent after the wall had been demoliſhed. The beſieged had received certain intelligence that Leiceſter had given up all hopes of being able to relieve them, and they had now no more gunpowder left than was ſufficient to ſerve them for ten or twelve hours longer. Six days before this time Groenvelt, and the other ſurviving officers, having

Generous reſolution of the beſieged.

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having assembled together, were of opinion, that as they had no prospect of relief, it would not be dishonourable to surrender the place upon certain conditions; and they resolved that, in case these conditions were rejected, they would set fire to the town, and endeavour to force their way sword in hand through the enemy's intrenchments. This resolution, with the articles of the surrender, which they committed to writing, and confirmed with an oath, was sent to the Earl of Leicester, to serve for a vindication of their conduct. But their messenger was discovered in swimming across the canal, and the paper seized and carried to the Duke of Parma, whose prudence and respect for valour, though in an enemy from whom he had suffered greatly, made him resolve to grant them those terms on which he had thus accidentally discovered they were so much determined to insist. Accordingly when, their gunpowder being almost spent, they offered to deliver the town upon condition that they should march out with the honours of war, he instantly complied with their request. Their number had been reduced from sixteen or seventeen hundred, to seven hundred men. The loss of the besiegers was likewise very great. The cotemporary historians do not mention the particular number of the killed and wounded; but they concur in saying that

They capitulate.

August 4.

Sluys

Sluys coſt the Duke of Parma more than Nuys, Grave, and Venloe together [m]. BOOK XX. 1587.

It afforded him great ſatisfaction under this calamity, that during the ſiege of Sluys, he had, without any bloodſhed, acquired the town of Guelders, which was betrayed to him by a Scots colonel of the name of Paton. To this man, Leiceſter had committed the government of Guelders; but having taken offence at ſome part of his conduct, he had openly threatened to put another, of the name of Stuart, in his room. In order to avoid this affront, Paton entered into a correſpondence with Hautpeine, whoſe troops were at that time in the neighbourhood of Guelders, and with his aſſiſtance he ſoon afterwards executed his perfidious deſign. Guelders betrayed to the Spaniards.

To compenſate to the States for ſo many important places, as they had loſt ſince their alliance with England, their forces had gained no advantage but the reduction of Axel, which Prince Maurice took by a ſtratagem; and the fort of Engelem, which was compelled to ſurrender by Count Hohenloe; who at the ſame

[m] Strada mentions the numbers killed on both ſides; but his whole relation of this ſiege is ſo exceedingly romantic that no credit can be given to it.

Meteren, lib. xiv. p. 439. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv.

BOOK XX. time beat the Spaniſh troops under Hautpeine, in a rencounter, in which the latter loſt his life.

1587.

AFTER Leiceſter's unſucceſsful attempt to raiſe the ſiege of Sluys, he tranſported his troops to Brabant, and made another equally inglorious attempt to reduce the town and diſtrict of Hoogſtraten. This was the laſt military enterpriſe which he undertook in the Netherlands, immediately after which he ſet out for Dort, whither the States had ſent ſome of their number to wait his arrival.

Intrigues of Leiceſter.

THIS aſſembly was now more diſguſted than ever with his conduct. They long had reaſon to ſuſpect, and they had lately received certain intelligence, that he had formed a deſign to deprive them of their authority. A letter of his, writ from England to one of his ſecretaries, had been intercepted, in which, after mentioning his intended return to the Low Countries, he expreſſed, in ſtrong terms, his diſcontent with the limited power which he had hitherto enjoyed as governor; ſent inſtructions to be communicated to thoſe who were privy to his deſigns; and inſinuated, that if he could not obtain a more extenſive authority, it was the Queen's reſolution, and his own, to abandon the provinces altogether, and to leave them to their fate.

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The States alarmed.

THE States, alarmed with this intelligence, reſolved to ſtand upon their guard againſt his machinations. Being ſtill however unwilling, from their dread of Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, to come to an open rupture with him, they took no notice of this letter, but exhorted him to reject ſuch malignant counſels, as might be offered by ill-deſigning men, who, in order to promote their own ſelfiſh views, wiſhed to ſow the ſeeds of animoſity and diſſenſion. From this exhortation, Leiceſter eaſily perceived that the States had come to the knowledge of his deſigns. With great diſingenuity he accuſed them of having violated their faith, by abridging that authority which they had intreated him to accept; and he threw the blame of all the misfortunes which had befallen the confederacy, partly on the States, and partly on Prince Maurice and Count Hohenloe. The States, he ſaid, had neglected to furniſh him with the neceſſary ſupplies; and Maurice and Hohenloe had, on different pretences, refuſed to cooperate with him in his military enterpriſes. Of a writing which contained theſe and ſome other groundleſs accuſations, copies were ſent by his partiſans into different parts of the provinces. The parties accuſed publiſhed a vindication of their conduct; and it is impoſſible, from what is preſerved of this altercation, to

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conſider what Leiceſter advanced, in any other light, but as the mean attempt of a perſon, equally weak and diſingenuous, to blacken the characters of others, in order to conceal the cowardice and imprudence of which he himſelf was conſcious. Such was the judgment formed of it by the impartial world, and by moſt of the inhabitants of the Netherlands. But there was ſtill a numerous party who eſpouſed Leiceſter's defence, and promoted the execution of his deſigns. The clergy were ſtill as much attached to him as ever, and ſpared no pains to bring the people to a compliance with his will. Having with this view called a ſynod or aſſembly, they appointed four of their number to preſent an addreſs to the States, in which, beſides exhorting them to attend to the true intereſt of the country, and the advancement of religion, they adviſed them to maintain concord with the Queen of England, and the Earl of Leiceſter.

The officiouſneſs of the clergy.

To this addreſs the States made ſuch a reply, as the officiouſneſs of thoſe in whoſe name it was preſented ſeems to have deſerved. "They had not been inattentive (they ſaid) to thoſe important objects which the ſynod had recommended to their attention; and they could not be more ſolicitous than they had

had always been, to preſerve inviolate thoſe engagements into which they had entered with the Queen of England and the Earl of Leiceſter; but, in their turn, they muſt exhort the miniſters to be on their guard againſt admitting among them perſons, who, under the cloak of religion, made it their buſineſs to calumniate the civil magiſtrates. By perſons ſuch as theſe, who affected great zeal for religion, the church had been ruined in the ſouthern provinces; and its ruin in the United Provinces would ſoon be accompliſhed, if an end were not ſpeedily put to the practices of ſuch deſigning men. They concluded with exhorting the miniſters to take warning from the fate of their brethren in Brabant and Flanders; and to remember, that the only way in which they ought to interfere in public affairs, was to favour thoſe to whom the adminiſtration was committed, with the aſſiſtance of their prayers."

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Leiceſter's deſigns are fruſtrated.

NEITHER this wholeſome counſel, nor any other meaſure which the States employed to enlighten and alarm their countrymen, produced for ſome time the deſired effect. Leiceſter ſtill continued to carry on his intrigues in different places, and went from town to town, putting in practice every low art by which he might increaſe the number of his

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partiſans. In Frieſland, North Holland, and even in Dort and Leyden, there were many who eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſhewed themſelves deſirous to inveſt him with authority to controul the aſſembly of the States, notwithſtanding the many ſtriking proofs which he had given both of tyranny and folly. In Leyden a plot was laid for putting him in poſſeſſion of that important city; but the conſpirators were detected, condemned, and executed. And by the vigilance of the States, ſeconded by Prince Maurice and William de Naſſau, governor of Frieſland, his deſigns in other places were rendered equally ineffectual. Having come at laſt to perceive that he was not equal to the attempt upon which he had entered, he grew tired of his ſituation, and in the month of December paſſed over to England, where, not long after his arrival, Elizabeth, either from a conviction of his incapacity, or from the deſire of keeping him for the future near her perſon, required him to reſign his government of the provinces; which he accordingly did, on the 27th of December, one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſeven [n].

He reſigns the government.

THE flame which he had kindled was not ſo ſoon extinguiſhed. In ſome towns, the garri-

[n] Meteren, p. 455.

ſons,

ſons, inſtigated by him or his emiſſaries, openly deſpiſed the authority of the States. Againſt the garriſon of Medemblinc, they were obliged to employ force; and in order to engage other garriſons to yield obedience to their commands, they had recourſe to the interpoſition of Elizabeth, through whoſe good offices internal tranquillity was at length reſtored. 1587.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XXI.

PART I.

ELIZABETH was the more ſolicitous to heal the diviſions in the United Provinces, as ſhe apprehended that ſhe would ſoon have occaſion for all the aſſiſtance which her allies could afford her. All Europe had reſounded for ſome time with the noiſe of the preparations which Philip was making, with a view to ſome important enterpriſe. He had been employed for ſeveral months in building ſhips of an extraordinary ſize, and in collecting ſtores for their equipment; while the Duke of Parma had made ſuch numerous levies in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, as ſhewed

1587. Philip meditates the conqueſt of England.

BOOK XXI. 1587.

ſhewed that he intended to take the field againſt the next campaign, with a much more powerful army than any which he had hitherto commanded.

His motives.

ALMOST ever ſince the beginning of Philip's reign, a great proportion of his troops had been occupied, either in war with the Corſairs and Turks, in the reduction of the Moreſcoes, or in the conqueſt of Portugal. He had never fully exerted his ſtrength againſt his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands. Nor had he found leiſure to take vengeance upon Elizabeth, for the ſupport which ſhe had given them, and the inſults which he had received from her in America, where ſeveral of his colonies had been plundered by her fleet[a]. To theſe objects he now thought that his honour as well as his intereſt required that he ſhould apply his principal attention. As he did not doubt that, with a much ſmaller force than he intended to employ, he ſhould be able to compel the people in the Netherlands to return to their allegiance, he had begun his preparations chiefly with an intention to invade England, and he aſpired to the entire ſubjection of that kingdom. But he heſitated for ſome time as to the manner in which he ſhould proceed; and held

[a] By Sir Francis Drake, anno 1585.

frequent meetings of his council to aſſiſt him in deciding, whether it was moſt expedient to begin with the invaſion of England, or with the conqueſt of the United Provinces. Idiaquez, one of his principal officers of ſtate, adviſed him to abandon altogether the former of theſe deſigns. BOOK XXI. 1587.

Speech of Idiaquez.

"The ſituation of England (ſaid that prudent ſtateſman), which is ſurrounded on every ſide with a tempeſtuous ocean, and has few harbours upon its coaſts; the numerous forces which defend it; the genius of the people, and the nature of their government, concur in making me believe that it will be found almoſt impoſſible to ſucceed in an attempt to conquer it.

"THE Engliſh navy is alone equal to that of any other nation; and when joined with the ſhips belonging to the revolted provinces, muſt prove an overmatch for any fleet that can be ſent from Spain. And even allowing that the King's forces ſhould effectuate a deſcent, yet what ground is there to hope that they will be able either to ſubdue ſo great a nation, or to maintain, for any conſiderable time, ſuch conqueſts as may be made? In order to accompliſh the moſt ordinary conqueſts, ſome favourable diſpoſition in the people towards the conquerors

BOOK XXI. 1587.

querors is neceſſary; and in order to preſerve them, there is need for a continual ſupply of troops. From no part of the Engliſh nation has the King any reaſon to hope for aſſiſtance in the intended enterpriſe. In the beginning of his reign, he had experience of the ſtrong abhorrence which theſe iſlanders entertain of a foreign yoke. And he knows how difficult it muſt be to keep up a numerous army in England, beſides all the other armies which are neceſſary for the defence of his hereditary, and his lately acquired dominions. If England ſhould prove equally pernicious to Spain, as Flanders has done, would there not be reaſon to dread the conſequences? Even the conſequence of ſucceſs may prove fatal; how much more thoſe which may ariſe from a diſappointment, by which Elizabeth, being delivered from her apprehenſions of danger at home, would be at greater leiſure than ever to ſupport the provinces in their rebellion; and by joining her maritime force with theirs, do infinite miſchief to the Spaniſh dominions, both in Europe and America. In my opinion, therefore, it will be better to ſuſpend the deſign of invading England, and to employ both the fleet and army in the reduction of the Netherlands. The rebels will not long reſiſt ſo great a force; and when they are ſubdued, the King, having fewer enemies to contend

with, will be much more able than at preſent to chaſtiſe the Queen of England."

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THE Duke of Parma, whom Philip conſulted on this occaſion, was of the ſame opinion as Idiaquez; and added, That before the King could enter upon the Engliſh expedition with a probability of ſucceſs, it was neceſſary to acquire poſſeſſion of ſome of the moſt conſiderable ſea-ports in Zealand, for the accommodation of his fleet.

Duke of Parma's opinion.

PHILIP was not naturally either bold or raſh; yet he refuſed to liſten to theſe prudent counſels. Blinded by the ſplendid ſucceſs of his arms in the conqueſt of Portugal, he thought it impoſſible that Elizabeth could withſtand the powerful armament which he intended to employ againſt her. And if England were ſubdued, the reduction of his revolted ſubjects would quickly follow, as they would then be deprived of the only foreign aid by which they had been hitherto enabled to perſiſt in their rebellion. Nor would the conqueſt of the former, he thought, be either ſo tedious or ſo difficult as that of the latter; becauſe England was every where an open country, and the Engliſh, truſting to their inſular ſituation, had neglected to provide any fortified towns to retard the progreſs of an enemy. A ſingle battle by ſea, and

Rejected by Philip.

BOOK XXI. 1587.

and another by land, would decide the conteſt; and as the fleet which he was preparing was greatly ſuperior to any which Elizabeth could equip, ſo he could not ſuppoſe that her land-forces, undiſciplined, and unaccuſtomed to war, would be able to reſiſt his veteran troops, which had been long enured to victory, and were commanded by the greateſt general and the braveſt officers in the world.

State of Europe.

He was not ignorant how much reaſon the other European powers had to be jealous of his deſign; but he conſidered that happily they were at preſent either not inclined, or not in a capacity, to prevent him from carrying it into execution. The Emperor of Germany was his friend and ally. The attention of the northern potentates was wholly engroſſed with the internal adminiſtration of their dominions. And the French Monarch, who was more deeply intereſted than any other in oppoſing him, could with difficulty ſupport himſelf upon the throne againſt his rebellious ſubjects.

But there was nothing which contributed more to confirm him in his purpoſe, than the approbation which it received from the Pope[b]; who, although it has been aſſerted that no

[b] Sextus V.

perſon

perſon entertained a higher admiration of the character of Elizabeth, conſidered her as the moſt formidable enemy that the church had ever ſeen upon a throne. She had not indeed, on any occaſion, treated her Catholic ſubjects with that inhuman cruelty, of which Philip had ſet her an example in his treatment of the Proteſtants, but ſhe had ſhewn herſelf intent on extirpating the Catholic religion from every country in Europe, to which her power and influence could reach. For almoſt thirty years ſhe had been the chief ſupport of the Proteſtants in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. She had entirely aboliſhed the Popiſh faith in Scotland, as well as in her own dominions; and not ſatisfied of depriving the unfortunate Mary of her liberty, ſhe had lately, after the farce of a ſolemn trial, ordered that Princeſs to be condemned as a traitor, and to ſuffer death. This action, for which Elizabeth was ſeverely cenſured by Proteſtants as well as Papiſts, excited in the violent mind of the Pontiff, the higheſt degree of rage and indignation. With theſe paſſions his intereſt concurred; and the hope of ſeeing England, which had formerly been the moſt precious jewel of the triple crown, brought back to its ancient obedience to the Holy See. He approved highly therefore of Philip's intended enterpriſe, exhorting him to perſevere in his deſign, and gave him

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assurances that he would befriend him in the execution of it to the utmost of his power. Next to an insatiable thirst after dominion, it had ever been Philip's principal ambition to be considered as the guardian of the church; and his vanity was not a little flattered at this time with having the sovereign Pontiff for his associate [c].

Artifice of Philip to deceive Elizabeth.

He proceeded therefore with much alacrity in completing his preparations. But although he resolved to spare no expence or pains to secure success; yet, that he might find Elizabeth unprepared, he concealed with care the purpose for which his armament was intended. A part of his fleet, he said, was to co-operate with his land-forces in the reduction of Holland, and the rest to be employed in the defence of his dominions in America.

Elizabeth had too much penetration to be so easily deceived by the artifices of a prince, with whose duplicity she was so thoroughly acquainted; and in the Spring of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven, she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to the coast of Spain to interrupt his preparations.

[c] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv. See a very different account in Gregorio Leti's Life of Sixtus, lib. vii.

By

By this gallant ſeaman, the Spaniſh ſhips of war which had been ſent to oppoſe him were diſperſed, and near a hundred veſſels filled with naval ſtores and proviſions, beſides two large galleons, were deſtroyed in the harbour of Cadiz. Drake then ſet ſail for the Azores, where he took a rich carrack in her way from the Eaſt Indies, and afterwards returned to England loaded with ſpoils, having by this bold and fortunate adventure rendered it impoſſible for Philip to execute his enterpriſe againſt England till the following year. BOOK XXI. 1587.

Fruitleſs negotiation for peace.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe hoſtilities, Philip ſtill affected to deſire that all the grounds of difference between him and Elizabeth might be removed, and gave orders to the Duke of Parma to propoſe a negotiation for peace. It is not probable that the Queen was deceived by this, any more than by his former artifice. She reſolved however to appear to be caught in the ſnare: ſhe pretended to believe his declaration with regard to the deſtination of his fleet, and to liſten to his propoſal of negotiating an agreement. She readily accepted of the mediation of the King of Denmark; and that her conduct might have the greater appearance of ſincerity, ſhe urged the States to ſend ambaſſadors to Bourbourg, the place appointed for the conferences, and ordered her

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Envoy to repreſent to them the expediency of putting a period to the war.

THE States were much alarmed with her propoſal, and ſuſpected that, in order to avert the ſtorm which threatened her, ſhe had reſolved to ſacrifice the confederacy, and to deliver up to Philip the Dutch towns in her poſſeſſion. She found it neceſſary to remove their apprehenſions on this head, by declaring, that as ſhe had not the remoteſt thoughts of forſaking them, ſo ſhe would never conſent to any terms of peace inconſiſtent with their ſecurity.

SHE could not however perſuade them to ſend ambaſſadors to the congreſs. "They were deeply ſenſible," they informed her, "of the weight of thoſe conſiderations, which her ambaſſador had urged, to induce them to think of peace. They lamented that ſpirit of diſcord which had ſeized on ſome towns of the confederacy, and they heard with great anxiety, of thoſe mighty fleets and armies which the King of Spain was preparing for their deſtruction. But their ſituation, though bad in ſome reſpects, was far from being deſperate; they were ſtill in poſſeſſion of more than ſixty towns and forts, each of which could make a vigorous reſiſtance againſt the enemy. In the two years during which the Earl of Leiceſter

Leiceſter had governed them, eight millions of guilders had been raiſed for the public ſervice, and under a prudent adminiſtration they would be able not only to continue to afford the ſame expence, but even to augment it. But although their ſituation were in reality as ill as ſome had repreſented, it could not ſerve any good purpoſe to treat of peace with the King of Spain, who was unalterably determined never to grant them peace on ſuch conditions as either their intereſt or their conſciences would permit them to accept. And from paſt experience they were perſuaded, that their ſending ambaſſadors to the congreſs would be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences. It would create in many perſons ſuch deſpair with regard to the ſtability of the preſent government, as would determine ſome to change their religion, and others to leave the Netherlands. It would raiſe the ſpirits of the Catholics, and induce both them and the Proteſtants to withhold their ſhare of the public expences; the former from the view of forwarding the peace, and the latter, from that of retiring into foreign parts. Thus, both the fleet and army, being ill paid, would become refractory, the commanders of towns and ſhips would provide for their future ſecurity, by entering into ſecret practices with the enemy; and in the midſt of that ſedition, confuſion, and treachery that would

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enſue, it would not be in the power of the States, or of the Queen, to prevent the people from accepting whatever terms of peace the King of Spain ſhould think fit to impoſe."

In theſe reaſons Elizabeth found it neceſſary to acquieſce; but ſhe perſiſted in the reſolution which ſhe had formed with regard to her own conduct, and ordered her ambaſſadors to repair to Bourbourg. In the conferences held there, various terms of accommodation were propoſed, with no ſincerity on the part of Spain, and with little hope of ſucceſs on the part of England. The Spaniſh miniſters ſtill continued to aſſure thoſe of England, that no invaſion of that kingdom was intended; and, conſidering how long this congreſs ſubſiſted (for it was not diſſolved till the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet in the channel), it ſhould ſeem that their aſſeverations were not wholly diſregarded by Elizabeth [d].

Elizabeth's preparations.

This artifice, however, did not prevent her from putting her kingdom into a poſture of defence. An army was raiſed amounting to eighty thouſand men, twenty thouſand of whom were ſtationed on the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, twenty-two thouſand foot and a thou-

[d] Meteren, lib. xiv. p. 459. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv.

ſand.

ſand horſe were poſted at Tilbury in Eſſex, under the Earl of Leiceſter, and the remainder, commanded by Lord Hunſdown, were kept near the Queen's perſon, in readineſs to march againſt the enemy whereſoever they ſhould attempt to land. Elizabeth did not truſt implicitly at this juncture either to her own judgment, or that of her counſellors of ſtate; Lord Gray of Wilton, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, officers of diſtinguiſhed reputation, were appointed to conſider of the meaſures proper to be purſued; and by their advice, all the ſea-ports which lay moſt conveniently for a deſcent were fortified; the militia was raiſed, their arms and manner of fighting aſcertained, and a reſolution formed, that if, notwithſtanding the precautions taken, it ſhould be found impoſſible to prevent the enemy from landing, all the country round ſhould be laid waſte, and a general engagement avoided till the ſeveral armies were combined. BOOK XXI. 1588.

WHILE theſe prudent meaſures were purſued at land, Elizabeth exerted herſelf ſtrenuouſly in the equipment of her fleet. When ſhe began her preparations, it did not amount to more than thirty ſhips, and none of theſe were nearly equal in ſize to thoſe of the enemy. But

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this diſadvantage was in ſome meaſure compenſated by the ſkill and dexterity of the Engliſh ſailors; and the number of her ſhips was ſoon augmented, through the alacrity and zeal which her ſubjects diſplayed in her defence. By her wiſe adminiſtration ſhe had acquired their eſteem and confidence. The animoſity againſt her perſon and government, which the differences in religion had excited in the minds of ſome, was at preſent ſwallowed up in that univerſal abhorrence which the Catholics as well as the Proteſtants entertained of the tyranny of Spain. Great pains were taken to keep alive and heighten that abhorrence. Accounts were ſpread of the horrid barbarities which the Spaniards had perpetrated in the Netherlands and America: deſcriptions were drawn, in the blackeſt colours, of the inhuman cruelties of the Inquiſition, and pictures were diſperſed of the various inſtruments of torture employed by the inquiſitors, of which, it was ſaid, there was abundant ſtore on board the Spaniſh fleet. Theſe, and ſuch other conſiderations, made a ſtrong impreſſion, not upon Elizabeth's Proteſtant ſubjects only, but likewiſe upon the Catholics [c]; who, although the Pope had publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt her, yet reſolved not to yield to

[c] Meteren, lib. xv.

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the Proteſtants either in loyalty to their ſovereign, or in zeal for the independency of the ſtate. The whole kingdom was of one mind and ſpirit: ſome Catholics entered into the army as volunteers, and others joined with the Proteſtants in equipping armed veſſels. Every maritime town fitted out one or more. The citizens of London furniſhed thirty, although only fifteen were required of them; and between forty and fifty were equipped by the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom. But all theſe ſhips were of ſmall ſize, in compariſon of thoſe which compoſed the Spaniſh fleet; and there was ſtill much ground for the moſt anxious apprehenſions with regard to the final iſſue of the war.

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No perſon felt greater anxiety on this occaſion than Elizabeth; the principal object of whoſe prudent politics for thirty years, had been to avoid the critical ſituation to which ſhe was now reduced. She did not, however, ſuffer any ſymptoms of uneaſineſs to appear, but wore at all times a placid and animated countenance, and in her whole behaviour diſplayed an undaunted ſpirit, which commanded admiration and applauſe.

Preparations and conduct of the Dutch.

The States of Holland, in the mean time, were not inattentive to the approaching danger, nor did they think themſelves leſs intereſted

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rested to provide against it, than if Philip had intended to begin his operations with an attack upon the Netherlands. From their fears of an immediate attack, they were delivered by intelligence of the enormous size of the Spanish ships, to which the coasts of Holland and Zealand were inaccessible. They turned their principal attention therefore to the assistance of their ally; and kept their fleet, consisting of more than eighty ships, prepared for action. At Elizabeth's desire, they sent thirty of that number to cruize between Calais and Dover; and, afterwards, when the Duke of Parma's design of transporting his army to England was certainly known, they ordered Justin de Nassau, Admiral of Zealand, to join Lord Seymour, one of the English Admirals, with five and thirty ships, to block up those seaports in Flanders where the Duke intended to embark [f].

THE principal English fleet was stationed at Plymouth, and the chief command of it was given to Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, who had under him as Vice-admirals, Sir Francis Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, three of the most expert and bravest seamen in the world.

The Spanish Armada.

IN the beginning of May one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, Philip's prepara-

[f] Meteren, lib. xv.

tions,

tions, which had ſo long kept all Europe in amazement and ſuſpence were brought to a concluſion. That Armada, to which the Spaniards, in confidence of ſucceſs, gave the name of Invincible, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty ſhips, moſt of which were greatly ſuperior in ſtrength and ſize to any that had been ſeen before. It had on board near twenty thouſand ſoldiers, and eight thouſand ſailors, beſides two thouſand volunteers of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in Spain. It carried two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty great guns, was victualled for half a year, and contained ſuch a quantity of military ſtores, as only the Spaniſh monarch, enriched by the treaſures of the Indies and America, could ſupply. 1588.

Duke of Parma's preparations.

PHILIP's preparations in the Netherlands were not leſs advanced than thoſe in Spain. Beſides a flouriſhing army of thirty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, which the Duke of Parma had aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Nieuport and Dunkirk; that active General had, with incredible labour, provided a great number of flat-bottomed veſſels, fit for tranſporting both horſe and foot, and had brought ſailors to navigate them from the towns in the Baltic. Moſt of theſe veſſels had been built at Antwerp; and as he durſt not venture to bring them from thence by ſea to Nieuport, leſt

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leſt they ſhould have been intercepted by the Dutch, he was obliged to ſend them along the Scheld to Ghent, from Ghent to Bruges, by the canal which joins theſe towns, and from Bruges to Nieuport, by a new canal which he dug on the preſent occaſion. This laborious undertaking, in which ſeveral thouſand workmen had been employed, was already finiſhed, and the Duke now waited for the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet; hoping, that as ſoon as it ſhould approach, the Dutch and Engliſh ſhips that cruiſed upon the coaſt would retire into their harbours.

Death of the Spaniſh Admiral.

THE Armada would have left Liſbon in the beginning of May, but the Marquis de Santa Croce, who had been appointed Admiral, was, at the very time fixed for its departure, ſeized with a violent fever, of which he died in a few days; and, by a ſingular fatality, the Duke de Paliano, the Vice-admiral, died likewiſe at the ſame time. Santa Croce being reckoned the firſt naval officer in Spain, Philip had much reaſon to lament his death, and it ſhould ſeem that he found it extremely difficult to fill his place, ſince he named for his ſucceſſor the Duke de Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of conſiderable reputation, but entirely unacquainted with maritime affairs. This defect in the Commander in Chief, Philip ſupplied in ſome meaſure,

measure, by giving him Martinez de Recaldo, a seaman of great experience, for his Vice-admiral. BOOK XXI. 1588.

In these arrangements so much time was lost, that the fleet could not leave Lisbon till the twenty-ninth of May. It had not advanced far in its voyage to Corunna, at which place it was to receive some troops and stores, when it was overtaken by a violent storm and dispersed. All the ships however reached Corunna, though considerably damaged, except four[g]. They were repaired with the utmost diligence, the King sending messengers every day to hasten their departure, yet several weeks passed before they could be put in a condition to resume the voyage. The Armada sets sail from Lisbon.

In the mean time a report was brought to England, that the Armada had suffered so much by the storm, as to be unfit for proceeding in the intended enterprise; and so well attested did this intelligence appear to Queen Elizabeth, that, at her desire, Secretary Walsingham wrote to the English Admiral, requir-

[g] In three of these, the galley-slaves, consisting of English, French, and Turks, taking advantage of the confusion occasioned by the storm, overpowered the Spaniards, and carried the ships into a harbour on the coast of Bayonne. Meteren, p. 476.

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ing him to lay up four of his largeſt ſhips, and to diſcharge the ſeamen. Lord Howard was happily leſs credulous on this occaſion than either Elizabeth or Walſingham; and deſired that he might be allowed to retain theſe ſhips in the ſervice, even though it ſhould be at his own expence, till more certain information were received. In order to procure it, he ſet ſail with a briſk north wind for Corunna, intending, in caſe he ſhould find the Armada ſo much diſabled as had been reported, to attempt to complete its deſtruction. On the coaſt of Spain he received intelligence of the truth: at the ſame the wind having changed from north to ſouth, he began to dread that the Spaniards might have ſailed for England, and therefore he returned without delay to his former ſtation at Plymouth.

Arrival of the Armada in the channel.

July 30th.

SOON after his arrival, he was informed that the Armada was in ſight. He immediately weighed anchor, and ſailed out of the harbour, ſtill uncertain of the courſe which the enemy intended to purſue. On the next day he perceived them ſteering directly towards him, drawn up in the form of a creſcent, which extended ſeven miles from one extremity to another. It was for ſome time believed that Plymouth was the place of their deſtination; and it was the opinion of many perſons in that

age, that their enterprise would have been more successful than it proved, had they landed there, and not proceeded up the channel. By doing this, it was supposed, they would have drawn Elizabeth's whole force to the south-west coast of the island, and have rendered it easier for the Duke of Parma to transport his troops. But in this expectation it is probable they would have been extremely disappointed, as the Dutch fleet alone would have been able to block up the sea-ports in Flanders; the English fleet might have destroyed the Armada had it once entered Plymouth harbour, and Elizabeth's land-forces would have been an over-match for all the Spanish troops which the Armada had on board. But if the Duke de Medina ever intended to make a descent at Plymouth, he soon changed his design, and adhered closely afterwards to the execution of the plan prescribed to him by the court of Spain. This was to steer quite through the channel till he should reach the coast of Flanders, and after driving away the Dutch and English ships, by which the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk were besieged, to escort the Duke of Parma's army to England, and to land there the forces that were on board the fleet. In compliance with these instructions, he proceeded in his course, without turning aside to the English, who

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Plan of operations presented by Philip.

BOOK XXI. who were drawn up along the coaſt, and ready to receive him.

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Prudent and gallant conduct of Lord Howard.

LORD Howard, conſidering that the Spaniards would probably be much ſuperior to him in cloſe fight, by reaſon of the ſize of their ſhips, and the number of their troops, wiſely reſolved to content himſelf with haraſſing them in their voyage, and with watching attentively all the advantages which might be derived from ſtorms, croſs winds, and ſuch like fortuitous accidents. It was not long before he diſcerned a favourable opportunity of attacking the Vice-admiral Recaldo. This he did in perſon, and on that occaſion diſplayed ſo much dexterity in working his ſhip, and in loading and firing his guns, as greatly alarmed the Spaniards for the fate of the Vice-admiral. From that time they kept much cloſer to one another; notwithſtanding which, the Engliſh on the ſame day attacked one of the largeſt galeaſſes. Other Spaniſh ſhips came up in time to her relief, but in their hurry, one of the principal galleons, which had a great part of the treaſure on board, ran foul of another ſhip, and had one of her maſts broken. In conſequence of this misfortune ſhe fell behind, and was taken by Sir Francis Drake; who, on the ſame day, took another capital ſhip which had been accidentally ſet on fire.

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Several other rencounters happened, and in all of them the Engliſh proved victorious, through the great advantage which they derived from the lightneſs of their ſhips, and the dexterity of the ſailors. The Spaniards in that age did not ſufficiently underſtand nautical mechanics, to be able to avail themſelves of the unuſual magnitude of their ſhips. The Engliſh ſailed round them, approached or retired with a velocity that filled them with amazement, and did infinitely greater execution with their cannon, for while every ſhot of theirs proved effectual, their ſhips ſuffered very little damage from the enemy, whoſe guns were planted too high, and generally ſpent their force in air.

Superiority of the Engliſh ſailors.

The Spaniards however ſtill continued to advance till they came oppoſite to Calais: there the Duke de Medina having ordered them to caſt anchor, he ſent information to the Duke of Parma of his arrival, and intreated him to haſten the embarkation of his forces. Farneſe ſet out immediately from Bruges, where the meſſenger found him, for Nieuport, and he began to put his troops on board. But at the ſame time he informed Medina, that, agreeably to the King's inſtructions, the veſſels which he had prepared, were proper only for tranſporting the troops, but were utterly unfit

The Armada oppoſite to Calais.

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for fighting; and for this reaſon, till the Armada were brought ſtill nearer, and the coaſt cleared of the Dutch ſhips which had blocked up the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk, he could not ſtir from his preſent ſtation, without expoſing his army to certain ruin, the conſequence of which would probably be the entire loſs of the Netherlands.

Is thrown into confuſion by the Engliſh fire-ſhips.

In compliance with this requeſt, the Armada was ordered to advance, and it had arrived within ſight of Dunkirk, between the Engliſh fleet on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, when a ſudden calm put a ſtop to all its motions. In this ſituation the three fleets remained for one whole day. About the middle of the night a breeze ſprung up, and Lord Howard had recourſe to an expedient which had been happily deviſed on the day before. Having filled eight ſhips with pitch, ſulphur, and other combuſtible materials, he ſet fire to them, and ſent them before the wind againſt the different diviſions of the Spaniſh fleet.

Auguſt 7th.

When the Spaniards beheld theſe ſhips in flames approaching towards them, it brought to their remembrance the havoc which had been made by the fireſhips employed againſt the Duke of Parma's bridge at the ſiege of Antwerp. The darkneſs of the night increaſ-

ed the terror with which their imaginations were overwhelmed, and the panic flew from one end of the fleet to the other. Each crew, anxious only for their own preſervation, thought of nothing but how to eſcape from the preſent danger. Some of them took time to weigh their anchors, but others cut their cables, and ſuffered their ſhips to drive with blind precipitation, without conſidering whether they did not thereby expoſe themſelves to a greater danger than that which they were ſo ſolicitous to avoid. In this confuſion the ſhips ran foul of one another: the ſhock was dreadful, and ſeveral of them received ſo much damage as to be rendered unfit for future uſe. 1588.

Battle between the two fleets.

WHEN day-light returned, Lord Howard had the ſatisfaction to perceive that his ſtratagem had fully produced the deſired effect. The enemy were ſtill in extreme diſorder, and their ſhips widely ſeparated and diſperſed. His fleet had lately received a great augmentation by the ſhips fitted out by the nobility and gentry, and by thoſe under Lord Seymour, who had left Juſtin de Naſſau as alone ſufficient to guard the coaſt of Flanders. Being bravely ſeconded by Sir Francis Drake, and all the other officers, he made haſte to improve the advantage which was now preſented to him, and attacked the enemy in different quarters at the ſame time

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with the utmoſt impetuoſity and ardour. The engagement began at four in the morning, and laſted till ſix at night. The Spaniards diſplayed in every rencounter the moſt intrepid bravery; but, from the cauſes already mentioned, they did very little execution againſt the Engliſh, while many of their own ſhips were greatly damaged, and ten of the largeſt were either run aground, or ſunk, or compelled to ſurrender.

Loſſes ſuſtained by the Spaniards.

THE principal galeaſs, commanded by Moncada, having Mauriquez, the Inſpector-general, on board, with three hundred galley-ſlaves and four hundred ſoldiers, was driven aſhore near Calais. She was quickly followed by ſome Engliſh pinnaces, and theſe were ſupported by the Admiral's long-boat, in which he had ſent a body of ſelect ſoldiers to their aſſiſtance. Moncada himſelf, and almoſt all the Spaniards, were either killed, or drowned in attempting to reach the ſhore. The rowers were ſet at liberty. About fifty thouſand ducats were found on board. Mauriquez eſcaped, and was the firſt who carried the news of the diſaſter of the fleet to Spain.

ONE of the capital ſhips having been long battered by an Engliſh captain of the name of Croſs, was ſunk in the time of the engagement.

ment. A few only of the crew were ſaved, who related, that one of the officers on board having propoſed to ſurrender, he was killed by another who was enraged at his propoſal; that this other was killed by the brother of the firſt; and that it was in the midſt of this bloody ſcene, which paints the ferocious character of the Spaniards, that the ſhip had gone to the bottom[g].

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THE fate of two other of the Spaniſh galleons is particularly mentioned by the cotemporary hiſtorians. One of them was called the St. Philip, and the other the St. Matthew, which had on board, beſides ſeveral other nobility, two general officers, Don Francis Toledo, of the family of Orgas, and Don Diego Pimentel, brother to the Marquis of Tomnarez. After an obſtinate engagement, in which the Admiral's ſhip fought along with them, they were obliged to run aſhore on the coaſt of Flanders, where they were taken by the Dutch. Toledo was drowned, and Pimentel, and all the reſt who ſurvived, were made priſoners.

THE Duke de Medina was much dejected at theſe misfortunes, and ſtill more when he reflected on the ſuperior ſkill of the enemy. For it is well atteſted, that in all the engagements

The Duke de Medina deſpairs of ſucceſs.

[g] Meteren and Grotius.

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which had paſſed ſince the firſt appearance of the Armada in the channel, the Engliſh had loſt only one ſmall ſhip, and about a hundred men. Animated by their paſt ſucceſs with ſanguine hopes of final victory, they were now more formidable than ever. Medina dreaded, from a continuance of the combat, the entire deſtruction of his fleet. He could not without the greateſt danger remain any longer in his preſent ſituation, and much leſs could he venture to approach nearer to the coaſt of Flanders.

Cauſe of his deſpair.

It now appeared how great an error Philip had committed, in neglecting to ſecure ſome commodious harbours in Zealand. He had from the firſt ſuppoſed that the enemy's ſhips would fly to their reſpective ports, as ſoon as his ſtupendous Armada ſhould appear. But this Armada had been made unfit for the purpoſe for which it was deſigned, by means of that enormous expence which he beſtowed in order to render it invincible. In conſtructing it, no attention had been given to the nature of thoſe narrow ſeas in which it was to be employed; and the conſequence of this important error was, that even if the Engliſh fleet had been unable to contend with the Spaniards in the deeper parts of the channel, yet they would have prevented them from landing: and the Dutch

Dutch fleet lying in ſhallow water, to which the galleons durſt not approach, would ſtill have kept their ſtation, and have rendered it impoſſible for the Spaniſh fleet and army to act in concert.

He reſolves to return to Spain.

THIS the Duke de Medina at length perceived, and he did not heſitate in reſolving to abandon the further proſecution of his enterpriſe. The only ſubject of his deliberation now was, how he might, with the leaſt difficulty and danger, get back to Spain. Had he been ever ſo much inclined to return through the channel, in which he muſt have been continually haraſſed by the enemy, yet the wind, which blew ſtrong from the ſouth, would have prevented him. He therefore reſolved to ſail northwards, and to make the circuit of the Britiſh iſles.

THIS reſolution was no ſooner underſtood by the Engliſh Admiral, than having diſpatched Lord Seymour with a part of the fleet, to join the Dutch in watching the motions of the Duke of Parma, he ſet ſail himſelf with the greater part of it, in purſuit of the Spaniards. He followed cloſe in the rear for three days, without attacking them. This he declined, from the apprehenſion of his not having a ſufficient quantity of gun-powder, with which he had

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been ill ſupplied by the public offices. Had he not been deterred from renewing his attack by this provoking circumſtance, he might have forced the Spaniards to an engagement off Flamborough-head; and it is aſſerted by a reſpectable cotemporary hiſtorian[h], that ſo great was the diſtreſs of the Spaniſh fleet, and ſuch the Admiral's dread of the long and dangerous voyage before him, that he would have ſurrendered without reſiſtance, in caſe he had been attacked. But he was ſaved from the diſgrace in which this action would have involved his name, through the neceſſity under which the Engliſh Admiral found himſelf of returning to England, to ſupply the deficiency of his ſtores.

Diſaſters which befel the Armada.

LORD Howard had reaſon to be incenſed againſt thoſe, by whoſe negligence he was thus diſabled from completing the glory which his gallant conduct had procured him. In the iſſue, however, it would have been unfortunate if he had delayed his return. The two fleets ſailed in oppoſite directions, were not far diſtant from each other, when a dreadful ſtorm aroſe. The Engliſh reached home, though not without difficulty, yet without ſuſtaining any conſiderable loſs. But the Spaniards were expoſed to the ſtorm in all its rage, and became no leſs

[h] Grotius.

objects

objects of pity to their enemies, than they had lately been of dread and terror. Having hitherto kept near each other, leſt the Engliſh ſhould have renewed the attack, this circumſtance proved the firſt cauſe of their diſaſters. The ſhips were driven violently againſt each other, and thereby many of them were rendered an eaſy prey to the fury of the waves. At length they were diſperſed. In order to enable them to ride out the ſtorm, the horſes, mules, and baggage were thrown over-board. This precaution was of advantage only to ſuch of the ſhips as were ſtronger, or more fortunate than the reſt. Some of them were daſhed to pieces on the rocks of Norway, or ſunk in the middle of the ocean. Others were thrown upon the coaſts of Scotland, and the Weſtern Iſles. And more than thirty were driven by another ſtorm, which overtook them from the weſt, on different parts of the coaſt of Ireland. Of theſe, ſome afterwards reached home in the moſt ſhattered condition, under the Vice-admiral Recaldo; others were ſhipwrecked among the rocks and ſhallows; and of thoſe which reached the ſhore, the crews were barbarouſly murdered; from an apprehenſion, it was pretended, that, in a country where there were ſo many diſaffected Catholics, it would have been dangerous to ſhew mercy to ſo great a number of the enemy. The Duke de Medina

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Medina having kept out in the open ſeas, eſcaped ſhipwreck, and arrived at Saint Andero in Biſcay about the end of September.

THE calamities of the Spaniards did not end with their arrival in Spain. Two of the galleons which had withſtood the ſtorm, were accidentally ſet on fire, and conſumed to aſhes in the harbour. Great numbers, eſpecially of the nobility and gentry, accuſtomed to a life of eaſe and pleaſure, had died at ſea; and many more died afterwards of diſeaſes occaſioned by the hardſhips they had undergone.

VERY different accounts are given by different hiſtorians, of the total loſs ſuſtained. Some aſſert that it amounted to thirty-two ſhips, and ten thouſand men; but others, without pretending to aſcertain the number of men, which could not, they ſay, be leſs than fifteen thouſand, affirm that more than eighty ſhips were taken, deſtroyed, or loſt[1]. This dreadful calamity was ſenſibly felt all over Spain, and there was ſcarcely a ſingle family of rank in the kingdom that did not go into mourning for the death of ſome near relation; inſomuch

[1] As the preſident De Thou, who lived at the time of this memorable event, pretends not to determine to which of theſe relations the greateſt regard is due, it would be in vain at this time to attempt to decide betwixt them.

that

that Philip, dreading the effect which this univerſal face of ſorrow might produce upon the minds of the people, imitated the conduct of the Roman ſenate, after the battle of Cannæ, and publiſhed an edict to abridge the time of public mourning [k].

1588.

Rejoicings in England and Holland.

WHILE the people of Spain were thus overwhelmed with affliction, there was nothing to be heard in England and the United Provinces but the voice of feſtivity and joy. In Holland medals were ſtruck in commemoration of the happy event; and in both countries, days of ſolemn thankſgiving to Heaven were appointed for their deliverance. Elizabeth went for this purpoſe to St. Paul's cathedral, ſeated in a triumphal chariot, and ſurrounded with her miniſters and nobles, amidſt a great number of flags and colours which had been taken from the enemy; while the citizens were ranged in arms on each ſide of the ſtreets through which ſhe paſſed. Nor did the deſtruction of the Armada give joy only to the Engliſh and Dutch. All Europe had trembled at the thoughts of its ſucceſs. For although it can hardly be ſuppoſed that Philip was ſo romantic as to flatter himſelf with the hopes of attaining univerſal monarchy, yet it is not to be ima-

[k] Meteren, lib. xiv. Grotii Hiſtoria, lib. i. Campana, Decad. vii. lib. i. Ferreras and Thuanus.

gined

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gined that he aſpired only at the conqueſt of England and Holland. He had before this time formed the plan, which he afterwards purſued, of ſubduing France: nor can it be believed that any thing leſs would have ſatisfied his ambition, than the ſubjection of every Proteſtant ſtate in Europe, and the utter extirpation of the reformed religion.

Philip's magnanimous behaviour.

His ambition was, on this occaſion, ſeverely mortified. But as he poſſeſſed in a high degree the art of concealing his emotions, he received intelligence of the diſaſter that had befallen him, with an appearance of magnanimity and reſignation to the will of Heaven, which, if it was not affected, deſerved the higheſt praiſe. He returned thanks to God, that the calamity was no greater. He iſſued orders to have the utmoſt care taken of the ſick and wounded, who had ſurvived the general cataſtrophe. And inſtead of forbidding the Duke of Medina Sidonia to come to court, as is alleged by ſome hiſtorians, he wrote to him in the moſt obliging terms, expreſſing his gratitude for the zeal which he had diſcovered in his ſervice; and obſerving, that no man could anſwer for the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe, which, like that wherein the Duke had been engaged, depended on the winds and waves[1].

[1] Ferreras, part xv. Strada, lib. v.

PHILIP'S

PHILIP's behaviour towards the Duke of Parma on this difficult occaſion, contained the ſame diſplay of juſtice that appeared in his letter to Medina Sidonia. Notwithſtanding the many proofs which Farneſe had exhibited in the ſight of all Europe, of indefatigable vigour and activity, as well as of heroic valour, yet the failure of the expedition againſt England was by ſome aſcribed to his negligence in making the neceſſary preparations, and by others to his exceſſive caution or timidity. But Philip refuſed to liſten to theſe groundleſs calumnies. He ſtill continued to repoſe in the Duke his wonted confidence; and teſtified towards him all that attachment and eſteem which his conduct in the Netherlands had deſerved. The truth is, that as the principal error in conducting the expedition had been committed, by neglecting the Duke of Parma's advice, ſo no perſon was more deeply intereſted in its ſucceſs; ſince, if the Armada had opened a paſſage for his troops, the whole direction of the enterpriſe would have belonged to him, and the nobleſt opportunity, to which his ambition could aſpire, have been given, of exerting thoſe illuſtrious military talents which have acquired him ſuch diſtinguiſhed renown.

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THE Duke had the greater reaſon to entertain the hopes of victory, in caſe his army could have

BOOK XXI. 1588. have been transported to England, as Elizabeth had, from her partiality for the Earl of Leicester, bestowed the chief command of her land-forces on that nobleman, who was so little entitled, either by his courage or his abilities, to so great a trust. Her good fortune, or more properly the kind providence of Heaven, so conspicuously exercised in her behalf, saved her from the consequences with which this unjustifiable step might have been attended. It was perhaps the only imprudent measure of which, at this difficult crisis, she can be justly accused; and she fully atoned for it by the wisdom, vigour, and fortitude which she displayed in every other part of her conduct.

PART

PART II.

ELIZABETH's ſituation now was extremely different from what it had ever been ſince her acceſſion to the throne. Having been delivered ſome time before the preſent period from the Queen of Scots, who had long been a principal cauſe of her inquietude, ſhe had found the art of appeaſing the reſentment, and even of conciliating the favour, of the ſon of that unfortunate princeſs. She had united her Catholic and Proteſtant ſubjects in her defence, and had triumphed over her implacable enemy, the King of Spain. She had not the ſame reaſon as formerly to dread the power of that monarch, which he had exerted in vain for her deſtruction, and ſhe had very little reaſon to apprehend that he would ſoon renew his attempt to invade her dominions. To prevent this, by furniſhing him with employment elſewhere, had been long her principal motive for taking ſuch deep concern in the affairs of the Netherlands. This motive did not ſubſiſt in the ſame degree of force as formerly, yet ſhe reſolved to adhere faithfully to her engagements with the States, and ſtill to aſſiſt and ſupport them. After Leiceſter's reſignation, ſhe

Situation of Elizabeth.

BOOK XXI.

1588. Lord Willoughby.

she had conferred the command of her troops in the Netherlands upon Lord Willoughby, subjecting this Nobleman, however, to the authority of the States, and leaving the command in chief to Prince Maurice, to whom the States themselves had lately committed it.

Prince Maurice.

It was not gratitude alone, or a respect for the memory of the late Prince of Orange, that determined the confederated provinces to repose so great a trust at this perilous conjuncture in his son, who was at this time only in the twenty-first year of his age. Maurice had, from his earliest youth, given proof of superior prudence and capacity; and his conduct afterwards fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of his countrymen. With much less moderation and self-command, and less too of the art of governing the minds of men, which William possessed in so eminent a degree, Maurice was superior to his father in military accomplishments, and of these the confederacy stood more in need at the present period, than of political abilities.

Maurice had no opportunity of exercising his talents for war, from the time of Leicester's departure till the fate of the Spanish Armada was decided. A great number of his best troops had been put on board the fleet commanded

manded by Juſtin de Naſſau; all the garriſons of the maritime towns had been augmented, leſt the Spaniards ſhould have attempted to make a deſcent; and there was no body of forces left, ſufficient to enable him to take advantage of the Duke of Parma's inactivity, by undertaking any military enterpriſe.

1588.

The Duke of Parma meditates the ſiege of Bergen-op-Zoom.

THE firſt opportunity of action was afforded him by a reſolution which the Duke formed, as ſoon as he perceived there was no longer any proſpect of invading England, to beſiege the town of Bergen-op-Zoom. This town, as its name imports, is ſituated on the river Zoom, at a little diſtance from the place where that river falls into the Scheld; and by this laſt river the territory of Bergen is ſeparated from the iſle of Tolen. Farneſe thinking it neceſſary towards the ſucceſs of his intended enterpriſe, to be maſter of this iſland, ſent Count Charles of Manſveldt with a body of eight hundred foot to take poſſeſſion of it; and in order to conceal his deſign, he ordered them to make a feint of marching towards Heuſden. This artifice however had not the deſired ſucceſs. Maurice had taken care to have both Bergen and Tolen properly furniſhed with troops for their defence.

AT low water it is practicable to paſs over to Tolen upon foot, and in this way Count

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Manſveldt endeavoured to approach it. But the Governor, Count Solmes, was ſo well prepared to receive him, that Manſveldt was ſoon obliged to abandon his attempt, and in his retreat he loſt about four hundred men. In the mean time the Duke of Parma had advanced with his army, and inveſted the town on the land ſide, without having met with any conſiderable oppoſition. But the beſieged beheld his operations with great indifference; their communication with Holland and Zealand was ſtill as free and open as before. In order to intercept it, they knew that the enemy muſt firſt reduce two ſtrong forts which ſtood between the town and the Scheld, and this they truſted could not be accompliſhed before the approach of winter.

October.

He is deceived by two Britiſh ſoldiers.

THE Duke immediately began his operations with an attack upon one of theſe forts; but before he had made any conſiderable progreſs, he conceived hopes of acquiring poſſeſſion of it in a way much more eaſy and expeditious than by open force. Two ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon, whom ſome hiſtorians call Scots, and others Engliſh, having gone over to Farneſe, offered to deliver the fort to him, on condition of his granting them a ſuitable reward for ſo great a ſervice. Farneſe lent a willing ear to their propoſal, and gave them

them the moſt flattering promiſes; but as he ſtill ſuſpected them of inſincerity, he made them confirm what they had told him by an oath, and required that they ſhould be carried bound in the midſt of the ſoldiers whom he intended to employ in executing the plan which they had ſuggeſted. To this, as well as to the oath required from them, they readily agreed. The Duke could no longer remain diſtruſtful, and ordered De Levya, one of his braveſt officers, to be ready immediately after ſun-ſet, with three thouſand infantry, to advance towards the fort. De Levya ſet out at the time appointed, and arrived at the gate when it was beginning to grow dark. Upon a ſignal given by the two Britiſh ſoldiers the port was opened, but no ſooner had about fifty Spaniards entered, than the portcullis was let down, and all the reſt excluded. Thoſe who had entered perceived the treachery of their guides, but being more ſolicitous to ſave their own lives than to take vengeance on the traitors, they ſuffered them to eſcape, and the Spaniards themſelves were inſtantly ſurrounded by the garriſon, and either put to the ſword or taken priſoners.

Of thoſe who were without, only ſuch as were near the gate were acquainted with what had happened, while the reſt who were ignorant of it ſtill preſſing forward, made it impoſ-

BOOK XXI. 1588.

ſible for the foremoſt to retire. Theſe men, rendered deſperate by their perilous ſituation, attempted to ſcale the ramparts, but they were ſoon repulſed by the garriſon, who were every where upon their guard. The guns of the fort began to play upon them. The darkneſs of the night increaſed their confuſion, and they fell into an ambuſh which the garriſon had prepared. A great number were killed, and many were ſwallowed up in the mud and water with which the fort was ſurrounded.

The Duke abandons his attempt on Bergen.

AFTER this misfortune the Duke of Parma deſpaired of ſucceeding in his enterpriſe. Heavy rains had lately fallen, his troops began to grow ſickly, and all the country round, which was naturally wet, was become almoſt inacceſſible to his convoys of proviſions. Determined by theſe conſiderations, he raiſed the ſiege before the middle of November, after fortifying ſome paſſes in the neighbourhood of the place, to reſtrain the excurſions of the garriſon [m].

No ſooner had he drawn off his troops from Bergen, than, having put the Italians and Spaniards into winter-quarters, he ſent the Germans under Count Peter Erneſt de Manſveldt

[m] Grotius Hiſt. lib. i. Bentivoglio, and Meteren, anno 1588.

to

to lay ſiege to Wachtendonck, in Upper Guelderland, a ſmall place, but ſtrongly fortified, and ſituated in the midſt of a marſhy ſoil. Farneſe was, notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, determined to employ his troops in reducing it, by loud complaints which were made to him of the continual depredations of the garriſon. This garriſon conſiſted of troops formed by the celebrated Schenck, whoſe bravery would have baffled the utmoſt efforts of Count Manſveldt, had it not been for a circumſtance which intitles the ſiege of this little town to a place in hiſtory. It was in this ſiege that bombs, the late invention of an inhabitant in Venlo, were firſt employed. To ſave the town from deſtruction, the citizens prevailed on the garriſon to conſent to a ſurrender, but not till they had ſallied out and killed a great number of the enemy; many of whom likewiſe periſhed by the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the humidity of the air and ſoil. BOOK XXI. 1589. The invention of bombs.

In conſequence of the loſs of men ſuſtained at this ſiege and that of Bergen, the Duke of Parma found his army exceedingly diminiſhed. This conſideration alone muſt have been a ſenſible mortification to a General of ſo great activity and enterprize, but he was more deeply mortified at the difficulty which he found in ſupporting the forces that ſtill remained Anxiety of the Duke of Parma.

BOOK XXI. 1589.

mained under his command. They had begun to murmur on account of the arrears which were due to them, and he dreaded the loſs of that authority over them which he had hitherto maintained. He had earneſtly ſolicited remittances from the court of Spain, and had repreſented the fatal conſequences which muſt attend the irregular payment of his troops. But his requeſts had not for ſome time paſt been liſtened to as formerly, and ſome of the bills which he drew had been returned unpaid. This was owing partly to the low ſtate of Philip's finances, which, great as his reſources were, had been overburdened by the enormous expence in which his late armament had involved him; and partly to the malignity and envy of the Spaniſh miniſters. The Duke could not conceal his chagrin, which was augmented by the decline of his health, and the ſymptoms of a dropſy, which ſome years afterwards put a period to his life [n].

Gertrudenberg betrayed to the Spaniards.

In this ſituation he received great ſatisfaction from an event, which was one of the conſequences of the intrigues of the Earl of Leiceſter. The garriſons of ſeveral towns had, through the influence of that nobleman's partizans, or from the deficiencies in their pay occaſioned by his miſconduct, ſhewn great

[n] Meteren, p. 503.

contempt

contempt for the authority of the States and Prince Maurice; but they had all been brought back to their duty, except the garriſon of St. Gertrudenberg, which conſiſted of one thouſand five hundred foot and three hundred horſe, partly Dutch and partly Engliſh. This garriſon having indulged themſelves in greater exceſſes than any other, were conſcious of ſuch a degree of guilt as they thought could not eaſily be forgiven: they were therefore ſtill as refractory and ſeditious as ever, maintaining openly that they were accountable to none but the Queen of England; and ſeizing upon ſhips, and carrying off plunder from the friends as well as the enemies of the confederacy. The States, apprehenſive of their delivering the town to the enemy, applied every ſoothing expedient to prevent them. They offered them a full pardon of their offences, got Lord Willoughby to interpoſe his influence, and made immediate payment of a great proportion of their arrears; but all endeavours were ineffectual. In the mean time Lanzavecchia, the Governor of Breda, being well informed of their temper and diſpoſition, employed ſecret agents to confirm them in their ſeditious purpoſes, holding forth to them the rewards which they might hope for from the Duke of Parma, while there was nothing to be expected from the Queen of England or the States, but either

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an ignominious puniſhment, or perpetual diffidence and contempt. They heſitated for ſome time; but when an offer was made to them in the name of the Duke of Parma, of full payment of their arrears, beſides a ſum of money equal to five years' pay, they were unable to reſiſt the allurement; they agreed to give up the town on the terms propoſed, and began to prepare for the execution of their deſign, by diſarming the inhabitants. Upon receiving intelligence of this infamous tranſaction, Prince Maurice ſet out by ſea, with a body of troops, in order to reduce the garriſon by force of arms. But before he had time to make any progreſs in the ſiege, having been informed that the Duke of Parma was upon his march to oppoſe him with a ſuperior army, he thought it prudent to retire. The Duke ſoon afterwards entered the town, and having fulfilled his engagements to the garriſon, he beſtowed the government upon Lanzavecchia, as a reward for the ſervice he had performed. Gertrudenberg was the firſt town in Holland which the Spaniards had acquired ſince their expulſion from that province about twelve years before; and it gave Farneſe, on that account, the moſt ſenſible joy and ſatisfaction. The States, on the other hand, expreſſed their indignation againſt the traitors, by proſcribing them; and it ought not to be forgotten, that through various

various accidents almoſt all of them fell into the hands of the confederates, and had the ſentence of proſcription executed upon them with the utmoſt rigour. 1589.

FROM Gertrudenberg the Spaniſh army was ſent under Count Charles of Manſveldt, to reduce the towns of Heuſden and Romerſval, and the fort of Louveſtein; but all their attempts on theſe places were baffled by the activity and vigour of Prince Maurice and Count Hohenloe.

THE Duke of Parma returned to Bruſſels, and not long afterwards he ſet out for Germany, to drink the waters at Spa, although it was believed he would not have gone at this ſeaſon, which was the moſt proper for all military operations, if his army had been in a condition to enter upon any enterprize worthy of his former fame°. During his abſence, Prince Maurice was barely able to prevent Count Manſveldt from making any new acquiſition. The forces of theſe two Generals were nearly equal; neither party was inclined to riſk an engagement, and no rencounter paſſed between them that deſerves to be recorded. The Duke of Parma at Spa. May.

SOME important ſervices were in the mean time performed by the indefatigable Schenck Achievements of Schenck.

° Grotius, p. 132.

in

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in the interior provinces. Having ſome time before the preſent period, propoſed to the States to build a fort upon the Rhine, at the place where that river divides itſelf into two branches, and forms the iſle of Betuwe [P], the States approved highly of his propoſal, and furniſhed him with every thing neceſſary for carrying it into execution. He finiſhed it with great diſpatch; and having fixed there his head-quarters, he over-ran all the country round, and ſeized every favourable opportunity of annoying the enemy. He took the city of Bonne, upon the Rhine, by ſurprize in the night. Having been informed that a body of troops were upon their march to reinforce Verdugo, the Governor of Groningen, and were eſcorting a ſum of money to that place for the payment of the garriſon, he choſe his ground with ſo much ſkill, and attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity and ardour, that he routed them, and got poſſeſſion of the money without the loſs of a ſingle man. But there was nothing on which he was ſo intent as the recovery of Nimeguen, which ſome years before he himſelf had conquered for the Spaniards. Nimeguen ſtands on the banks of the Waal, at the diſtance of only a few hours ſail from the fort which Schenck had conſtructed. Having embarked his troops, he ſet out with

[P] Called anciently Batavia.

an

an intention to reach the town about the middle of the night. Through ſome accident or miſtake he did not arrive till the morning, when he happened unfortunately to land at a houſe where a number of perſons were aſſembled for the celebration of a wedding. By theſe perſons the alarm was inſtantly given to the reſt of the inhabitants, who were well acquainted with the enmity with which Schenck had for ſome time paſt been animated againſt them, and knew that an univerſal pillage would be the conſequence of his ſucceſs. They ran to arms from every quarter, made a furious attack upon his men, and, notwithſtanding the moſt intrepid reſiſtance, drove them towards their boats in great confuſion. Schenck endeavoured to rally them, but in vain. The town's people purſued, and ſlew many of them while they were attempting to eſcape. Schenck himſelf was wounded, and immediately afterwards his boat was overſet, and he, and all on board, were drowned. Such was the fate of this brave man at the age of forty, by whom, ever ſince his revolt, the Spaniards had been ſubjected to perpetual apprehenſions and alarms [q].

1589.

Death of Schenck.

No other material tranſaction occurred during this campaign but the ſiege of Rhin-

Battle of Rhinberg.

[q] Bentivoglio, p. 334.

berg,

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berg; which was undertaken at the earneſt deſire of the Elector of Cologn, and the charge of it committed by the Duke of Parma to the Marquis of Varambon. Colonel Vere, an Engliſh officer of high reputation, was ſent by the States to the relief of the beſieged, and between him and Varambon, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Engliſh commander gained a complete victory. After this he entered the town, and fortified it ſo ſtrongly, as enabled the inhabitants for ſome time longer to preſerve their liberty and independence.

The Duke of Parma returns from Spa.

It was now the end of autumn, and the Duke of Parma was retured from Spa. Soon after his return, his apprehenſions with regard to the conſequences of the irregular payment of his troops, were verified by the mutiny of a Spaniſh regiment which lay in garriſon at Courtray. From complaints the ſoldiers proceeded to threats, and at laſt openly refuſed to obey his commands. With the utmoſt difficulty he raiſed money ſufficient to appeaſe them. But as this was the firſt ſedition which had happened ſince the commencement of his government, he was the more ſenſibly afflicted by it, and dreaded, that the example which it afforded, would ſoon be followed by the garriſons in other towns.

This

THIS event hapened about the end of the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-nine; and in the month of February immediately following, another misfortune happened, which convinced the Duke, that Prince Maurice was an antagoniſt of a character extremely different from that of any other with whom he had hitherto contended. This was the loſs of the important city of Breda, of which Maurice got poſſeſſion by a ſingular ſtratagem, ſuggeſted to him by the maſter of a boat, called Adrian Vandenberg, who had ſometimes ſupplied the town and garriſon with turf for firing. When Lanzavecchia, the Governor, was at Breda, all veſſels which came there were carefully examined; but the Duke of Parma, having rewarded this crafty Italian, for the part which he acted in corrupting the garriſon of St. Gertrudenberg, with the government of that town, ſtill ſuffered him to retain that of Breda. Lanzavecchia found it neceſſary to be often abſent from the latter of theſe places; and, during his abſence, uſually committed the charge of it to his ſon. Vandenberg having obſerved that on theſe occaſions there was commonly great negligence in ſearching his boat, founded upon this circumſtance his plan for taking the citadel by ſurpriſe. It was communicated to Prince Maurice, who readily embraced it, and immediately applied himſelf to put it in execution. The boat was loaded

1589 The ſurpriſe of Breda. 1590.

in

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in appearance with turf, as uſual; but the turf was ſupported by a floor of planks fixed at the diſtance of ſeveral feet from the bottom; and under this floor ſeventy ſelect ſoldiers were placed under the command of Charles Haraugner[r], an officer of diſtinguiſhed valour and capacity. They had but a few miles to ſail; yet through unexpected accidents, ſeveral days paſſed before they could reach Breda. The wind turned againſt them, the melting ice retarded their courſe, and the boat having ſtruck upon a bank, was ſo much damaged, that the ſoldiers were for ſome time up to the knees in water. Their proviſions were almoſt ſpent, and one of their number was ſeized with a violent cough, which, if it continued, they foreſaw would certainly occaſion a diſcovery. This man had the generoſity to offer them his ſword, and to intreat them to kill him. They as generouſly declined it; and being reſolved to run all riſks, rather than imbrue their hands in the blood of their companion, they ſtill perſiſted in their deſign. Happily their virtue was rewarded: the ſoldier's cough left him, and even the leak in their veſſel was ſtopt by ſome accidental cauſe.

[r] In order to ſecure the abſence of Lanzavecchia, whoſe vigilance there was much ground

[r] A native of Cambray.

to dread, Prince Maurice had made a feint of marching againſt Gertrudenberg, and this artifice produced the deſired effect. Lanzavecchia was abſent from Breda when the boat arrived. It was admitted within the fortifications of the caſtle, and the ſearch was made in the moſt ſuperficial manner. BOOK XXI. 1590.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, there was ſtill the utmoſt danger of a diſcovery, and it would certainly have been made, had not Vandenberg poſſeſſed an extraordinary ſhare of addreſs and art, which he exerted on this occaſion. There being a ſcarcity of fuel in the caſtle, the turf was immediately purchaſed; the ſoldiers of the garriſon were ſet to work in carrying it aſhore, and ſo great a number of hands were employed, that they would ſoon have uncovered the planks, and thereby have detected the plot, had not Vandenberg, pretending to be fatigued with labour and watching, and unable to aſſiſt the ſoldiers any longer in unloading, firſt amuſed them with diſcourſe, and then inviting them to join him in drinking ſome wine which he had provided. His offer was readily accepted. The night came on, and the Spaniſh ſoldiers were all either aſleep or drunk. Vandenberg then ſet out, in order to give notice of his ſucceſs to Prince Maurice and Count Hohenloe, who, according to agreement, had in great ſilence

BOOK XXI. brought forward a body of forces within a little diſtance of the town.

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About the middle of the night, Harauguer iſſued forth from his retreat; and having divided his band into two bodies, he attacked, at the ſame time, both the guards which were placed at the gate towards the country, and thoſe which were ſtationed at another gate which led from the citadel to the town, and meeting with little reſiſtance, he ſecured poſſeſſion of the gates. Young Lanzavecchia ruſhed out againſt him with between thirty and forty of the garriſon; but theſe men were not able to withſtand the determined and deſperate valour of the aſſailants. They were all either put to the ſword or diſperſed, and Lanzavecchia himſelf was wounded and taken priſoner.

The alarm was ſoon communicated to the town, in which there was a numerous garriſon, conſiſting of five companies of Italian foot, and one of horſe. The citizens offered to co-operate with the garriſon in defending the fortifications, till the Duke of Parma ſhould come to their relief; but this cowardly garriſon being ſtruck with an univerſal panic, and having no Commander in Chief to direct their operations, ſuddenly forſook the town. In the mean time

Prince

Prince Maurice arrived in the citadel, and the inhabitants having now no garriſon to ſupport them, ſent a trumpet with an offer to ſurrender, on condition that they ſhould not be plundered. And to this Prince Maurice readily agreed; but required that they ſhould pay him ninety thouſand florins to be diſtributed among his troops. BOOK XXI. 1590.

MAURICE received the greater ſatisfaction from this acquiſition, which had been attended with the loſs of only one man, as Breda had been for many years the hereditary property of his family; and for the ſame reaſon the citizens were leſs reluctant in ſubmitting to his authority. He appointed the brave Harauguer to be Governor of the town, and liberally rewarded Vandenberg, and all the other ſailors and ſoldiers, in proportion to their merit.

THE Duke of Parma, on the other hand, was extremely mortified with what had happened, and highly incenſed againſt his countrymen, the Italians, who had ſo baſely deſerted the town committed to their care. He ordered the officers to be arreſted, and afterwards commanded all of them to be executed, agreeably to the ſentence of a court-martial, except one, whom he pardoned in conſideration of his youth [t].

[t] Grotius. Bentivoglio.

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OLD Lanzavecchia's imprudence in committing ſo important a charge to ſo young a man as his ſon, was already ſeverely puniſhed by his ſon's impriſonment, and the loſs of his government of Breda. He puniſhed himſelf ſtill farther, by reſigning his government of Gertrudenberg. Such were the bitter fruits of that corruption for which this man had been ſo lately rewarded. According to the principles which warriors and politicians are ready to adopt, his conduct deſerved the reward which was beſtowed upon it; but to the friends of virtue it will give ſatisfaction to obſerve, that, in the courſe of providence, puniſhment is inflicted ſometimes not upon the treacherous alone, but on thoſe too by whom they are prompted, or encouraged in their treachery.

MEANWHILE Farneſe reſolving to recover the town, if poſſible, before Prince Maurice ſhould have time to ſecure it, ſent Count Manſveldt againſt it with a part of the army. But Maurice had no ſooner acquired poſſeſſion of the place, than he furniſhed it with proviſions ſufficient for many months, and ſtationed a garriſon in it conſiſting of one thouſand two hundred foot and four hundred horſe. Manſveldt did not therefore think it expedient to lay immediate ſiege to Breda; but, in order to cut off the communication of the garriſon with Holland,

Holland, he attempted to reduce a ſtrong fort in the mouth of the river Mark, which commanded the navigation of that river. From this attempt, however, he was obliged to deſiſt, after having loſt between ſix and ſeven hundred men. He then built another fort at the mouth of the river, and began to make preparations for beſieging the town itſelf. In order to divert him from the proſecution of his deſign, Prince Maurice marched with a body of about five thouſand men towards Nimeguen, reſolving to beſiege that town in caſe Manſveldt did not relinquiſh his preſent enterpriſe. BOOK XXI. 1590.

FARNESE, ſenſible of the great importance of Nimeguen, ſent orders to Count Manſveldt to lead his army thither without delay. Maurice perceived then that it was impracticable for him to attempt the ſiege with any probability of ſucceſs, and encamped his troops in the Betuwe, on the north ſide of the Waal, oppoſite to Nimeguen. Having fortified the banks of the river, to prevent Count Manſveldt from tranſporting his forces, he built, in ſight of the enemy, a ſtrong fort, afterwards called by the name of Knotzenburg, directly oppoſite to the town; by which he not only deprived Nimeguen of all the advantages which it had hitherto derived from its ſituation; but, as the cannon of this fort could reach the

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town, the inhabitants were expoſed to continual danger. After having finiſhed this important work, he dug a navigable canal acroſs the Betuwe, from the Rhine to the Waal. This wiſe expedient rendered the navigation of the confederates in thoſe parts ſecure, by making it unneceſſary for their ſhips to paſs by Nimeguen; and it was of great advantage to all the country round, by leſſening the violence of the inundations to which that part of the Netherlands is ſometimes liable. The States of Guelderland and Overyſſel had a juſt ſenſe of the benefits which they derived from his operations, and they teſtified their gratitude by electing him Governor of theſe two provinces.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XXII.

PART I.

FROM the capacity and vigour which Maurice had already diſplayed, Philip might have perceived that he ſhould probably find full employment in the Netherlands for all the forces which, in the preſent ſtate of his finances, he was able to ſupport. And conſidering the unfortunate iſſue of his enterprize againſt Elizabeth, and how much the reputation of his arms and counſels had ſuffered from his long unſucceſsful ſtruggle with the inhabitants of the United Provinces, it might have been expected that he would have ſeen the

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abſurdity of that prepoſterous ambition which had led him to undertake new conqueſts before he had reduced his own dominions under obedience. It does not appear that he ever ſeriouſly entertained the thoughts of renewing his attempt againſt England; but having never relinquiſhed his deſigns on France, he had maintained his connections with the heads of the Catholic league; and notwithſtanding the difficulty which he found in paying his army in Flanders, he had from time to time ſupplied them with conſiderable ſums of money.

The Catholic league.

THESE factious leaders had now more occaſion than ever for his aſſiſtance. After the treaty mentioned above, which Philip concluded with the Duke of Guiſe at Joinville in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-five, the flames of war between the Catholics and Proteſtants had been kindled afreſh from one end of the kingdom to the other. Henry, well acquainted with the ſecret intentions of Guiſe and his partiſans, which were no leſs hoſtile to himſelf than to the Calviniſts, would gladly have employed all his power for their deſtruction; but he ſoon perceived that he was unable to contend openly with ſo great a force as they had provided againſt him, and therefore diſguiſing his reſentment for the affront offered to his authority, he reſolved to accede

to

to the league, in hopes of acquiring the direction of it, by declaring himſelf its head and protector. In conſequence of this reſolution, great preparations were made for proſecuting the war againſt the Calviniſts, and three different armies were raiſed. One of theſe Henry commanded in perſon; another was ſent under the Duke de Joyeuſe againſt the King of Navarre; and the third was led by the Duke of Guiſe, to oppoſe a numerous army of Germans, who were upon their march to the aſſiſtance of the Hugonots. Joyeuſe loſt both his army and his life in the battle of Coutras; but the Duke of Guiſe, who made up for the ſmall number of his troops, by his ſuperior conduct and intrepidity, proved victorious over the Germans, and thereby acquired an increaſe of popularity and fame, which gave him uncontrollable influence over almoſt all the Catholics in the kingdom. Elated with his ſucceſs, and conſcious of his power, this ambitious leader could no longer delay the execution of his deſigns; but reſolved, after depoſing the King, and confining him to a cloiſter, to place the infirm and aged Cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne; hoping to engroſs the whole adminiſtration, and to ſecure the ſucceſſion to himſelf in the event of the Cardinal's demiſe. Henry beheld with much dread the precipice on which he ſtood; and, in order to avoid it,

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BOOK XXII. 1590. had recourſe to that deteſtable expedient, of which, in his youth, he had ſhewn his approbation, in the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by commanding both the Duke of Guiſe, and his brother the Cardinal, to be aſſaſſinated.

THIS murder, which even Henry pretended to juſtify only by the plea of neceſſity, did not produce the effect which he expected. Inſtead of intimidating his enemies, it ſerved to inflame their minds with wrath and indignation. In Paris, where the ſpirit of the league had long raged with the utmoſt fury, the people broke his ſtatues to pieces, the eccleſiaſtics declaimed againſt him in the bittereſt and moſt abuſive terms, and the Sorbonne declared him to have forfeited the crown. His ſubjects almoſt every where roſe up in arms againſt him; and the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the Guiſes, a Prince of extraordinary prudence and capacity, was choſen Commander in Chief in his brother's room.

IN this ſituation Henry had no reſource left but in the King of Navarre, whom he had deceived and perſecuted. But this generous and heroic Prince readily forgot the injuries he had received from him, and made haſte to march with a numerous army to his aſſiſtance. Thus powerfully ſupported, Henry became an overmatch

match for his enemies, and he would ſoon have compelled the city of Paris to ſurrender, when a period was put to his life by a fanatic Monk, who, being ſeduced by his ſuperiors, burned with the deſire of meriting Heaven, by embruing his hands in the blood of his lawful Prince. Such was the unfortunate end of Henry III. the laſt of the race of Valois, which had reigned over France for almoſt three hundred years.

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Acceſſion of Henry IV.

THE King of Navarre, the undoubted heir of the crown, and whom the deceaſed Monarch had nominated his ſucceſſor, was immediately proclaimed King in the camp, by the name of Henry IV. a name which will be for ever reſpected, not by the French nation alone, but by every friend of mankind and of virtue. Brought up in the hardeſt ſchool of adverſity, patient, frugal, and laborious; brave and wiſe; ſincere, humane, and generous; of the ſtricteſt integrity, and the moſt untainted honour; he had long commanded the admiration of his enemies, as well as of the impartial world. Never did any Prince ſucceed to a throne adorned with more ſplendid, more ſubſtantial, or more amiable accompliſhments: yet ſo fierce was the ſpirit of religious bigotry with which his ſubjects were inflamed; ſo great their abhorrence of Calviniſm; and ſuch their dread, that

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that Henry, who was himſelf a Calviniſt, although the moſt moderate of his ſect, would, in imitation of the Queen of England, overturn the Popiſh religion, that many of the Catholics inſtantly forſook his camp; nor would any of them have been perſuaded to remain with him, had he not given them ground to entertain hopes of his converſion.

In Paris he had a numerous party who would willingly have recogniſed his right, in caſe he would have agreed to embrace the Popiſh faith. There were others who, under the pretence of religion, had no other ends in view but to ſecure and perpetuate that unbounded licence which they had long enjoyed of perpetrating the moſt atrocious crimes; and there were many who, having been gained over by Spaniſh influence, had, in concert with Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and Cajetan, the Pope's legate, a partizan of Spain, formed the deſign of conferring the crown, either on Philip himſelf, or his daughter Iſabella[a].

The Duke of Mayenne, who had adopted his brother's plan in all its branches, hoped to make theſe parties ſubſervient to his own ele-

[a] Grand-daughter of Henry II.

vation

vation to the throne. This deſign, however, he concealed with care; and that he might have leiſure to prepare the means of putting it in execution, he prevailed on a great majority to concur in electing the Cardinal of Bourbon King; to which meaſure likewiſe, Philip, actuated by a ſimilar intention, gave his conſent. 1590.

HENRY in the mean time finding himſelf unable, from the great deſertion of his forces, to maintain his preſent ſituation before Paris, retired into Normandy, to wait there, till ſuccours, which he expected from Elizabeth, ſhould arrive. Mayenne, putting himſelf at the head of an army much more numerous than that of the King, purſued and attacked him in his fortifications near the town of Arques; but having been repulſed with great ſlaughter, and having ſuffered afterwards a total overthrow in the battle of Ivry, in which, as on many other occaſions, Henry's ſuperior bravery ſupplied his want of numbers, Mayenne was obliged, with the ſhattered remains of his army, to take refuge in the metropolis. There he ſtayed no longer than till he had conſulted with the Duke of Nemours, the Governor, with regard to the proper meaſures of defence, in caſe the city ſhould be beſieged by the victorious army; after which he ſet out for Picardy, to meet the Duke of Parma, from whom

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whom he expected a reinforcement of troops. The King arrived ſoon after in the neighbourhood of Paris, and having made himſelf maſter of the courſe of the Seyne and the Marne, and blocked up every entry by which proviſions might be conveyed into the town, he inveſted it on every ſide, and ſoon reduced the inhabitants to extreme neceſſity.

By the perſuaſion however of their leaders, ſeconded by the Spaniſh miniſter and the Pope's legate; by the decrees of the Sorbonne, and the harangues of the clergy; they were confirmed in the reſolution which they had formed from the beginning to endure every calamity, rather than receive an heretical King, whoſe authority they were taught to believe they could not acknowledge, without endangering their ſalvation.

Philip's views on France.

In their preſent diſtreſsful ſituation they had no proſpect of relief, but from the arms of Spain; nor was Philip leſs inclined now to interpoſe in their behalf, and that of the league in general, than formerly. The affairs of France were at this time the principal object of his attention; and he would gladly have exerted himſelf againſt the King with his utmoſt vigour, eſpecially as the Cardinal of Bourbon was lately dead, if the preſent juncture had been favourable to his ambitious deſign,

deſign, of ſeizing the monarchy for himſelf or his daughter; by which, more than by zeal for the Catholic faith, he had long been actuated. But having penetrated into the views of Mayenne, and found that from him and all his party he had reaſon to expect the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſition; he conſidered, that if Henry were utterly ſubdued, the Catholics, ſtanding then no longer in need of his aſſiſtance, would probably unite againſt him, and, without regard to the obligations which he had laid them under, render all his expence and labour fruitleſs. He reſolved, therefore, agreeably to the advice of the Duke of Parma, to protract the war, and to afford the league only ſuch aſſiſtance as might prevent the King from acquiring an entire aſcendant over them; hoping thereby to waſte the ſtrength of both the contending parties, and ſooner or later to oblige them to comply with whatever terms he ſhould be pleaſed to preſcribe.

Conformably to this plan, the Duke of Parma, with whom Mayenne had an interview at Condé, gave him only two thouſand ſeven hundred foot and eight hundred horſe. But as this reinforcement was inadequate to the purpoſe for which it had been ſolicited, Philip became apprehenſive that the reſolution of the beſieged might fail; and dreaded, that if Henry were

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were once maſter of the capital, a Prince of ſo great ability and addreſs might ſoon compel the reſt of the kingdom to ſubmit to his authority. To prevent this, he reſolved to poſtpone every conſideration of prudence and intereſt to the raiſing of the ſiege; and ſent poſitive orders to the Duke of Parma, to conduct his army to France for this purpoſe, with the utmoſt expedition. Farneſe, though poſſeſſed of capacity and courage equal to the moſt difficult and dangerous enterpriſe, would gladly have diverted Philip from his deſign. He repreſented to him the dangerous conſequences with which the abſence of his troops from the Netherlands would be attended; and he attempted to make him ſenſible of the extreme uncertainty of thoſe advantages which he expected to derive from taking ſo deep an intereſt in the affairs of France. But Philip, blinded by his ambition, could not relinquiſh thoſe deluſive hopes which he had long fondly indulged, of adding France to his dominions. He was deaf to the Duke's prudent remonſtrances, and only liſtened to his advice, ſo far as to conſent that he might return to the Low Countries, when the ſiege of Paris ſhould be raiſed.

The Duke of Parma's firſt expedition into France.

FINDING the King thus obſtinate and inflexible, Farneſe committed the government, during his abſence, to Count Peter Erneſt of Manſveldt,

Manſveldt, and appointed his ſon Count Charles to command the ſmall number of troops, which he deſigned to leave behind him for the defence of the Netherlands. He then applied himſelf with great anxiety to make the neceſſary preparations for his march: for he was well aware of the difficulty which he muſt encounter in his intended enterpriſe againſt a Prince of ſo great abilities as the King of France, in the midſt of his dominions, and at the head of a victorious army, commanded by a gallant and almoſt invincible nobility. This conſideration, however, far from intimidating him, ſerved only to make him exert, with more than ordinary vigour, thoſe illuſtrious talents with which he was endowed; leſt now, when he was about to enter the liſts with ſo great a rival for military fame, he ſhould forfeit that high renown which his former atchievements had procured him.

Compariſon of him with Henry.

HENRY was at this time about forty years of age, and Farneſe a few years older. From their earlieſt youth they had been alike diſtinguiſhed by the love of arms; and had paſſed their lives either in learning, or in practiſing the art of war. They poſſeſſed alike the talent of conciliating the affections of their troops, without any relaxation of diſcipline, or diminution of authority. They were equal too in perſonal

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perſonal courage, in quick diſcernment, and in fertility of genius. But the King was more prompt in his deciſions; the Duke more cautious and circumſpect. The latter, always cool, and maſter of himſelf, tranſgreſſed on no occaſion the bounds of the ſtricteſt prudence; but the former was often betrayed by his natural impetuoſity and ardour, rather to act the part of a common ſoldier than of a General, and unneceſſarily to expoſe his perſon to danger. From the ſame impetuoſity of temper, the King was ever fond of ſtriking a deciſive blow, by a pitched battle in the field; whereas the Duke choſe rather to accompliſh his deſigns by ſtratagem and dexterity, without bloodſhed. Notwithſtanding this diverſity in their characters, they were indiſputably the greateſt captains of the age in which they lived, and may be compared, without ſuffering by the compariſon, with the moſt illuſtrious commanders either in ſcient or in modern times.

His wiſe precautions.

FARNESE was ready to ſet out from Bruſſels in the beginning of Auguſt, with an army of fourteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. On his arrival in France, having convened his principal officers together, he explained to them the conduct proper to be obſerved in the preſent expedition; and repreſented

ſented the neceſſity of requiring a ſtrict attention from every individual in the army, to all the rules of military diſcipline. They were about to enter into a kingdom where, the people being naturally jealous of the Spaniards, ſuſpicions would be eaſily excited, that, inſtead of having come to their aſſiſtance, he intended to reduce them under the government of Spain. Againſt giving ground for theſe ſuſpicions, which might defeat the intentions of the King, they muſt be continually on their guard, and take effectual care to reſtrain the troops from offering any violence to the natives. They were ere long to purſue their march in the face of a bold and enterpriſing enemy; and for this reaſon it would be neceſſary that the moſt perfect order ſhould be obſerved, that no tumult ſhould be permitted in their quarters, and no ſoldier allowed to leave his colours night or day, upon any pretence whatever; that the country ſhould be reconnoitred with the utmoſt care; that they ſhould take up their quarters every evening a conſiderable time before ſun-ſet; that the troops ſhould ſtand under their arms, till the intrenchments were completed: and that their intrenchments ſhould be as ſtrongly fortified, as if the enemy were in ſight. BOOK XXII. 1590.

THE Duke ſecured the execution of theſe orders, by the activity and vigilance which he

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exerted. Although he had many officers of high reputation under him, yet he reſolved not to put implicit truſt in any of them. From charts or maps, joined to the information which he received from the natives, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the country through which he was to paſs. He heard in perſon the reports of all the parties which he ſent to reconnoitre; marked out the encampments with his own hand, and beſtowed ſuch particular attention on every thing which he deemed of the leaſt importance, that he left himſelf no other time for repoſe, but the few hours between beating the reveille, and the marching of the troops.

In order to preſerve his men freſh and vigorous for the time of action, he marched gently forwards; and did not arrive at Meaux, which is ten leagues diſtant from Paris, till the 23d of Auguſt. He was joined at Meaux, by the Duke de Mayenne, with ten thouſand foot and one thouſand five hundred horſe; and from this place he ſent intelligence to the beſieged, that he hoped to be able in a few days to relieve them.

Diſtreſs of the Pariſians.

Their patience was almoſt exhauſted. They had been for many days reduced to the moſt deplorable condition. Great numbers had died of want, or of diſeaſes occaſioned by the unwholeſome

wholeſome food to which they had been obliged to have recourſe; and though their bigotry made them ſtill entertain the thoughts of a ſurrender with horror, it had required the utmoſt vigilance on the part of the Governor, to prevent it from taking place. They believed it to be impoſſible for them to hold out even for a few days, at the end of which the Duke of Parma had given them hopes of his arrival. Of this deſperate ſituation, their leaders did not fail to inform him, nor did he delay advancing towards them one moment longer than was neceſſary in order to ſecure a fortunate iſſue to his enterprize.

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HENRY had for ſeveral weeks entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of being able to terminate the ſiege before the Duke could arrive [b]. He was now extremely chagrined and mortified, and was at the ſame time thrown into great perplexity, with reſpect to the meaſures proper to be purſued. Unwilling to quit his prize, when he was upon the point of ſeizing it, he would gladly have divided his army, and leaving a part of it, to continue the blockade, have led the reſt to meet the enemy. But as it had lately ſuffered great diminution by ſickneſs, he apprehended that he would find ſuffi-

Henry raiſes the ſiege.

[b] It had laſted four months.

BOOK XXII. 1590.

cient employment for the whole, in defending himſelf againſt the Spaniards. After much heſitation, he raiſed the ſiege, and ſet out to oppoſe the Duke of Parma, before he ſhould approach nearer the town [c].

HAVING advanced as far as Chelles (which lies about four leagues diſtant from Paris) he pitched his camp in a ſpacious plain, which is terminated by two hills of a gentle aſcent, ſeparated from each other by the road that leads to Meaux. The Duke of Parma's army was encamped on the other ſide of theſe hills, and was well ſecured by ſtrong entrenchments. In this ſituation the two armies remained for ſeveral days. The Duke did not now lie under the ſame neceſſity as before, of precipitating his approach to Paris, becauſe the citizens having ventured, after the King's departure, to make excurſions into the country, had furniſhed themſelves with ſome proviſions from the places adjacent; and the King durſt not attack ſuch ſtrong intrenchments, defended by an army ſuperior in number to his own. But being eager to engage, and dreading the daily diminution of his forces from the ſickneſs which prevailed among them, Henry ſent a

[c] His army amounted to twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe.

defiance

defiance to the Duke of Mayenne, calling upon him to quit his den, in which he lay more like a fox than a lion, that the conteſt between them might be decided, and an end put to the calamities of the kingdom. BOOK XXII. 1590.

MAYENNE ſent the herald who brought this challenge to the Duke of Parma, who anſwered, ſmiling, That his preſent conduct, he perceived, was not agreeable to the King; but that he had been accuſtomed to fight, only when he himſelf thought proper, and not when it was convenient for his enemies; and he added, That far from declining battle, he would offer it as ſoon as the intereſt of the cauſe which he had come to ſupport, ſhould render it expedient. Agreeably to the ſpirit of this reply, Farneſe kept his army within their lines for two days longer; during which time he was employed in examining the ſituation of the country, and in conſidering how he might accompliſh the end of his expedition, without hazarding an engagement. Having at length fixed his plan of operations, without communicating it to the Duke of Mayenne, or any other of his officers, he gave out, that he now intended to offer battle. Of the van, which conſiſted of two ſquadrons of lances, with all the light horſe in his army, he gave the command to the Marquis de Renti, with in- Stratagem of the Duke of Parma.

BOOK XXII. 1590.

ſtructions, that as ſoon as he ſhould reach the top of the interjacent hill, he ſhould ſpread out his troops, and make as large a front as poſſible; and then begin to deſcend ſlowly towards the enemy, but not to engage without further orders, whatever provocation he ſhould receive. He committed the charge of the main army to the Duke de Mayenne, and that of the rear to the Sieur de la Mothe; while he reſerved liberty to himſelf to ride from one part of the army to the other, as occaſion ſhould require.

WHEN the King was informed of this diſpoſition and movement of the Spaniſh army, he could not doubt that the Duke had at length reſolved to try the fortune of a battle. His eyes ſparkled with joy. He drew up his army in battle array, with the utmoſt celerity and ſkill; but reſolved to wait till the enemy ſhould deſcend to the plain, where he might enter the liſts with them on equal terms.

WHEN the van of the Spaniſh army had formed ſo large a front, as totally obſtructed the view of every thing behind them, the Duke commanded De Renti to ſtop, and to wait for the King, in caſe he ſhould think fit to aſcend the hill. Then clapping ſpurs to his horſe, he galloped back to the Duke de Mayenne, who

was

was advancing with the main army, and taking him by the hand, he ſaid, with a cheerful animated countenance, "Paris will ſoon be delivered now, my Lord; but for this purpoſe we muſt turn back, and direct our march to another quarter." He then deſired both Mayenne and La Mothe to march towards Lagny, a town on the other ſide of the Marne, and inſtructed them to take poſſeſſion of the ground on this ſide, directly oppoſite to the town, and to employ all their troops in drawing ſtrong lines of circumvallation round their camp.

THESE orders were executed with great expedition. A battery of the largeſt cannon was planted over againſt the town; and the camp was fortified in ſuch a manner with trenches, breaſt-works, and redoubts, as to render it impregnable.

WHEN this was done, the Marquis de Renti, who for ſeveral hours had amuſed the enemy with hopes that he intended to come down from the hill, began to file off towards Lagny; after having planted a body of ſelect troops, under an officer of the name of Baſta, in certain woody parts of the hill, to ſecure his retreat.

THE King in the mean time knew nothing of what had paſſed on the other ſide of the hill;

BOOK XXII. 1590.

and when he ſaw the Marquis de Renti depart, he ſent a detachment after him to attack his rear, and, if poſſible, to diſcover the Duke's deſign. But this detachment fell unexpectedly among the Spaniſh troops under Baſta; and a furious rencounter enſued, which continued with various ſucceſs till night, when both parties retired to their reſpective camps. The King remained all night entirely ignorant of the operations of the enemy. He could not ſuppoſe that Farneſe, a General ſo diſtinguiſhed for his caution, would attempt to tranſport his forces over the Marne, in order to advance to Paris, on the other ſide of that river, while ſo ſtrong a fortified paſs as Lagny lay behind him. And it was ſtill more difficult to believe, that in the face of ſuch an army as lay ready to attack him, he would undertake the ſiege of Lagny, eſpecially as the river lay between him and that place. It was the laſt of theſe meaſures, however, on which the Duke of Parma had reſolved; and all his movements on the day before had been made in order to inſure ſucceſs. Next morning the King received intelligence of his deſign, but he had the mortification to perceive that it was beyond his power to prevent him from carrying it into execution. On each hand he was perplexed with inſurmountable difficulties. The fortifications of the Spaniſh army were already ſo complete, that he

he could not attack them with the ſmalleſt hopes of ſucceſs. If he ſhould remain where he was, Lagny would certainly be loſt, and thereby a paſſage to Paris opened on the other ſide of the river; and if he ſhould tranſport his army, in order to ſave Lagny, the Duke would then be at liberty to march directly by the road on this ſide to the relief of the beſieged. BOOK XXII. 1590.

THERE was no other expedient in his power, but, while he remained in his preſent ſituation, to ſend reinforcements from time to time to the garriſon of Lagny.

THE Duke of Parma meanwhile puſhed forward the ſiege of that place with the utmoſt celerity and vigour; having, as already mentioned, planted a battery on this ſide of the river, he opened it next morning, and ſoon laid a great part of the wall in ruins. The garriſon, however, ſtill believed themſelves to be ſecure, as the river was between them and the enemy; but the Duke had thrown a bridge of boats over it ſome miles above the town, and had already tranſported ſeveral thouſands of his braveſt troops. Theſe troops were ready to mount the breach as ſoon as it was made practicable. In the firſt aſſault they were repulſed with great bravery by the garriſon, but an error in military diſcipline, committed by La-ſin, He takes Lagny.

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La-fin, the Governor, quickly decided the fate of Lagny. Inſtead of relieving thoſe who had ſuſtained the firſt aſſault, by changing them file by file, according to an eſtabliſhed rule in the defence of places, he attempted to do it all at once, and thereby threw his men into confuſion. This blunder was perceived by the aſſailants, who returned inſtantly to the charge with redoubled fury, and after taking La-fin himſelf priſoner, put moſt of the garriſon to the ſword, while the King ſtood a ſorrowful ſpectator of the loſs of the place, and the ſlaughter of his troops.

Relief of Paris.

AFTER the taking of Lagny, no other obſtacle remained to prevent the Spaniards from approaching Paris on that ſide of the river, but the garriſons at the bridges of St. Maur and Charenton. Theſe were eaſily overcome, and the convoys with proviſions advanced without moleſtation to the gates of the city. The joy of the Pariſians on this occaſion may be more eaſily imagined than deſcribed; they poured forth in multitudes to receive that food of which they ſtood ſo much in need, and every tongue celebrated in the higheſt ſtrains the praiſes of their deliverer.

Error of the French Monarch.

No perſon admired more that dexterity by which the Duke of Parma had accompliſhed his

his deſign, than the King himſelf; but his generous ſpirit was ſeverely mortified, and he had the greater reaſon for the chagrin which he felt on this occaſion; becauſe if, inſtead of encamping his army at Chelles, he had followed the counſel of the wiſe La Noue, and advanced as far as Claye, Lagny might have been ſaved, and the Spaniſh army ſo long retarded, that the Pariſians muſt have thrown themſelves upon his mercy. BOOK XXII. 1590.

HENRY's uneaſineſs was greatly augmented when he conſidered, that at preſent it was impoſſible for him by any bold deciſive ſtroke to retrieve his error. He knew it to be vain to entertain the hopes of forcing the Duke of Parma, now when the end of his expedition was accompliſhed, to expoſe his troops to the riſk of a battle. His own army was greatly weakened by ſickneſs, and the fatigues of a long campaign. All the country round being laid waſte, he began to feel a ſcarcity of proviſions; his exchequer was exhauſted, and many of his nobility and gentry, who ſerved at their own expence, having no farther expectations this ſeaſon of either ſubduing Paris, or compelling the enemy to engage, were impatient to depart. Determined by theſe motives, he retired to St. Dennis, and having diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces, he ſent the nobility to provide

He diſbands his army.

BOOK XXII. 1590.

vide for the ſecurity of the ſeveral provinces in which their intereſt lay, retaining only a flying army of his beſt troops, with which he intended during the winter to check the progreſs of the enemy.

Siege of Corbeil.

THIS little army was not ſo formidable as to prevent the Duke of Parma from undertaking whatever enterpriſe he ſhould incline. At the deſire of Mayenne, and the other heads of the league, he laid ſiege to Corbeil; and, notwithſtanding the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, he took it by aſſault, but not till he had ſpent many days in the ſiege, and loſt a great number of men.

BEING deſirous to preſerve in his own hands an acquiſition which had coſt him ſo dear, he propoſed to the leaders of the league to put in Corbeil a garriſon of his Walloon or Italian forces. By this propoſal, perhaps, he meant only to make trial of their diſpoſition towards the Catholic King; or, conſidering how averſe he himſelf had ever been to his preſent expedition, he intended to make Philip ſenſible of the difficulty of deriving any ſubſtantial advantage from taking ſo deep an intereſt in the affairs of France.

WHATEVER was his motive, Mayenne and the other leaders declined conſenting to his propoſal, and in their refuſal gave him a clear diſcovery

diſcovery of their jealouſy and ſuſpicion. This diſcovery confirmed him in his opinion, that matters were far from being ripe for the execution of Philip's deſigns, and that probably he ſhould never be able to accompliſh them by any other means than by protracting the war, till the ſtrength and patience of the contending parties were exhauſted. This plan had, as mentioned above, been recommended to Philip by the Duke himſelf; and conformably to it, he reſolved, ſince neither party was in immediate danger of being overpowered, to return to the Netherlands. Other motives concurred in determining him to form this reſolution; the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the ſicklineſs of his army, the want of money, and a ſcarcity of proviſions; which laſt was ſo great, as made it neceſſary for him ſometimes to ſuffer his troops to plunder the inhabitants, although he foreſaw that his granting this permiſſion muſt not only prove prejudicial to his diſcipline, but contribute likewiſe to alienate the affections of the people, and thereby to obſtruct his maſter's views.

The Catholic leaders, who had expected that he would have remained in France till the King was totally ſubdued, laboured with much importunity to divert him from his purpoſe; but all their arguments were ineffectual.

The

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The ſtate of affairs in the Netherlands, he informed them, rendered his return indiſpenſably neceſſary, but he would ſend them money, and leave ſuch a number of troops as would enable them to proſecute the war. Neither the money [d] nor troops [e] which he promiſed were anſwerable to the ſanguine expectations which they had formed. They ſaw that Philip, notwithſtanding the ſeeming zeal with which he eſpouſed their cauſe, was ſurely actuated by ſome private motive of ambition; that there was nothing farther from his intention than to bring the war to a concluſion, and that he would never contribute effectually to their gaining a victory over their enemies, unleſs he himſelf were to reap the fruits of it. They found it neceſſary however to conceal their ſuſpicions, and to accept of the ſcanty ſupply of money and troops which the Duke had offered. Farneſe in the mean time was preparing for his march; and, as he could not doubt that Henry would give him all the annoyance in his power, he employed the ſame precautions as he had done formerly when he left the Netherlands. Having drawn up his army in four diviſions, he marched always in the order of battle: the country through which

[d] Thirty thouſand ducats.

[e] Between five and ſix thouſand.

he

he paſſed was diligently reconnoitred by the light horſe, and his camp was every evening ſecured by ſtrong intrenchments. BOOK XXII. 1590.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe precautions, the King was determined not to ſuffer him to return unmoleſted. With this intention he had brought a ſelect body of troops to Compeigne, near the borders of Picardy, and he ſet out with them from that place, as ſoon as he got information of the enemy's route, inflamed with the deſire of taking vengeance for the injuries he had received. Henry had full ſcope in the preſent ſcene of action for his wonted bravery and vigilance; nor did he ſuffer any opportunity to eſcape of exerting theſe qualities with ſignal damage to the enemy. Hovering perpetually round them, he attacked them ſometimes in the front, when they leaſt expected it, ſometimes in the flank, and ſometimes in the rear, giving them no reſpite night or day, and filling their minds with continual apprehenſions and alarms. The Duke returns to the Netherlands.

No General could have made greater efforts with ſo ſmall a force; and if the Spaniards had been commanded by a General leſs diſtinguiſhed than the Duke of Parma for prudence and circumſpection, it is impoſſible, conſidering the length of their march, the badneſs of their roads,

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roads, and the ſeaſon of the year, but they muſt have been often thrown into confuſion, and the greater part of them deſtroyed. But the Duke's vigilance was not inferior to the activity of the King; while he was perpetually on his guard, and ever ready to aſſiſt whatever part of his army was attacked, he ſuffered no provocation to divert him from the proſecution of his march; and at laſt he brought his troops, though not without conſiderable loſs, yet in good order, into the province of Hainault[f].

[f] D'Avila, lib. xi. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. v. Thuanus, lib. xcix. ſect. vi. and vii.

PART II.

Affairs of the Low Countries.

THE Duke of Parma, on his return to the Netherlands, found that all the unhappy conſequences which he foretold had ariſen from his abſence. Having drained his finances by the French expedition, many of the troops left in the Low Countries had mutinied on account of their want of pay. The forces of the confederated ſtates had over-run the fertile provinces of Brabant and Flanders; and Prince Maurice, having made himſelf maſter of a great number of the ſmaller towns upon the frontier, had paved the way for future conqueſts.

THESE misfortunes gave the Duke of Parma the greater uneaſineſs, as he had little proſpect of being able ſoon either to retrieve his loſſes or to make repriſals on the enemy. Finding by his inſtructions from the court of Spain, that Philip was as much intoxicated as ever with his ambitious views in France, he was obliged to ſtation the greateſt part of his troops in the provinces of Artois and Hainault, where they might be ready to march, if neceſſary, to the aſſiſtance of the league. And thus ſeveral of the moſt important towns which

BOOK XXII. 1592.

lay next to the revolted provinces, being badly furniſhed with garriſons to defend them, were expoſed an eaſy prey to the enemy. The confederates were too ſagacious not to diſcern the advantage which was thus preſented to them: and whereas they had, till lately, been ſatisfied with defending their frontier, which they had done with much anxiety, and often without ſucceſs; they now took courage from the diſtractions in which Philip's prepoſterous ambition had involved him, and reſolved to exert themſelves with vigour in carrying on an offenſive war.

Prince Maurice ſubdues Zutphen,

THE year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-one had juſt begun, when Colonel Norris led out the garriſon of Oſtend, which had been reinforced by troops from England; and having taken the fort of Blackemberg, between Oſtend and Sluys, he laid a great part of Flanders open to his incurſions. Soon afterwards another party of the forces of the States ſurpriſed the forts of Turnhout and Weſterlo, in Brabant. But theſe conqueſts were inconſiderable, when compared with thoſe of Prince Maurice, who, having put his troops in motion as early as the ſeaſon would permit, opened the campaign with the ſiege of Zutphen, and ſoon compelled the garriſon to ſurrender.

FROM

1591.

From this place he led his army againſt Deventer, a town of ſtill greater importance than Zutphen. Deventer had been, as above related, betrayed to the Spaniards by Sir William Stanley; and Maurice was earneſtly ſolicited to undertake the ſiege of it, at this time, by Colonel Vere, who was fired with the generous ambition of wiping out the reproach which Stanley's treachery had brought upon his countrymen. Vere diſplayed in this ſiege all that bravery and conduct, for which he is ſo highly celebrated by the cotemporary hiſtorians; and next to Maurice, who conducted the attack with conſummate prudence, he principally contributed to the reduction of the place. It was vigorouſly defended by the Count de Berg, couſin-german to the Prince; but the Count being grievouſly wounded, and the wall on that ſide where Vere commanded laid in ruins, the garriſon capitulated in a few days after opening the trenches, and the inhabitants returned under obedience to the States[8]. and Deventer. 10th June.

The Duke of Parma in the mean time laid ſiege to the fort of Knotzenberg, which Maurice had built in the end of the preceding year. By this fort, the confederates commanded the navigation of the river, and gave

[8] Vide Bentivoglio, p. 350. Grotius, p. 145. Meteren, p. 530.

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ſuch annoyance to Nimeguen, as made the Duke extremely uneaſy about the fate of that important city. In order to conceal his deſign, he directed his march firſt towards the fort of Schenck. But Maurice was not deceived by this feint, and had taken care to ſtrengthen the garriſon of Knotzenberg with an addition of ſome choſen troops.

He defeats the Spaniſh horſe.

THE Duke therefore met with the moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and loſt a great number of his men; ſtill, however, he perſiſted in the ſiege. Maurice, dreading his ſucceſs, relinquiſhed a ſcheme which he had formed for the reduction of Groningen, and having paſſed the Waal, he pitched his camp within ſight of the enemy. As he did not poſſeſs ſufficient force to attack their lines, he intended only to encourage the garriſon by his preſence, or to ſtraiten the Duke's quarters, and to intercept his convoys. Many ſkirmiſhes paſſed with various ſucceſs, till Maurice at length found an opportunity of putting in practice the following ſtratagem: having planted an ambuſh of his braveſt troops, he marched up to the enemy's camp, attended by Count Solmes and Colonel Vere, at the head of ſome companies of horſe. The Duke, leſs circumſpect and cautious on this occaſion than uſual, ſent out ten companies of Spaniſh and Italian horſe to attack him. A fierce

fierce rencounter enſued. Agreeably to orders, the Prince's troops ſoon turned their backs and fled. The royaliſts purſued with ardour, till they had paſſed a narrow defile and a bridge, when Maurice returned ſuddenly to the charge, and the ſoldiers in ambuſh pouring in upon them from both ſides, their return to the camp was intercepted, and almoſt all of them were put to the ſword or taken priſoners. BOOK XXII. 1591.

THIS diſaſter afflicted the Duke of Parma in the moſt ſenſible manner; a great number of the officers who fell were his countrymen, many of whom were perſons of rank, in whoſe fortune he was particularly intereſted. He perceived that, if he remained in his preſent ſituation, he muſt find it extremely difficult, from the diminution of his cavalry, to ſupply his army with proviſions, and he had not as yet made any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege.

HE would ſtill however have proſecuted his enterpriſe, if he had not been obliged to deſiſt from it by orders which he received from Philip, to act only on the defenſive in the Netherlands, and to ſpare his troops as much as poſſible for another expedition into France. Maurice hoped to have gained ſome advantage over Farneſe in his retreat from Knotzenberg; but both in this, and in his paſſage over the Waal,

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ſuch wiſe precautions were employed, as rendered it impoſſible for the Prince to annoy him; while they filled that young hero with the higheſt admiration of the Duke of Parma's ſkill, and furniſhed him with important leſſons in the military art, which he put in practice on many occaſions afterwards with ſignal glory and ſucceſs.

The reduction of Hulſt.

HAVING paſſed the river, and put his troops in ſafety, the Duke ordered new levies to be made in Germany, Burgundy, and the ſouthern provinces of the Netherlands; after which, he went, on account of his indiſpoſition, to drink the waters at Spa. He had no ſooner ſet out, than Prince Maurice, having embarked four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, made a ſudden deſcent on that part of Flanders called the county of Waes, and inveſted the town of Hulſt. Mondragone, the Governor of Antwerp, loſt no time in drawing together ſuch forces as were ſtationed in the neighbouring places, with an intention to raiſe the ſiege. But Maurice having pierced the dykes, had laid the country under water, and rendered it impoſſible for Mondragone to approach. Agreeably to the intelligence which had induced the Prince to engage in his preſent enterpriſe, the garriſon of Hulſt was weak, and they were badly furniſhed both with proviſions and

and military ſtores. Their defence therefore was ſpiritleſs and feeble, and they ſoon agreed to a ſurrender. BOOK XXII. 1591.

and Nimeguen.

FROM Hulſt, Maurice returned unexpectedly to Knotzenberg; and as there was no Spaniſh army near, he threw a bridge over the Waal, and laid ſiege to Nimeguen. The garriſon, conſiſting of Germans and Walloons, made ſeveral ſallies to retard his approach: and, if they had been ſeconded by the townſmen, the reduction of a place of ſo great extent and ſtrength as Nimeguen, muſt have detained him long. But he had for ſome time paſt held a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the principal inhabitants, and the people in general were extremely diſaffected to the Spaniſh government. They took courage now, when Maurice was at hand to ſupport them, and having riſen tumultuouſly, required the garriſon, in the moſt peremptory manner, to put an end to their calamities by a ſurrender of the town. The garriſon, conſcious of their inability to reſiſt both the citizens and the enemy, complied with their requeſt; and Maurice was received by them rather as their deliverer from ſlavery, than as a conqueror by whoſe arms they had been ſubdued. They were admitted to the ſame privileges as the other towns of

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the confederacy; and although the adminiſtration was put into the hands of the Proteſtants, yet no puniſhment was inflicted on any of the Catholics, by whom the city had been kept ſo long under the Spaniſh government.

AFTER this important acquiſition, Maurice ſet out for the Hague, and received there the moſt flattering teſtimonies of gratitude, attachment, and reſpect. The prudence with which his enterpriſes had been concerted, and the celerity and vigour with which he had carried them into execution, filled all Europe with his renown, and gave his countrymen the moſt ſanguine hopes of future proſperity and ſucceſs.

State of the confederacy.

THEIR condition was extremely different at this period from what it had ever been ſince the confederacy had been formed: till lately they had experienced an uninterrupted courſe of calamities; they had been perpetually diſturbed with inteſtine broils, and had lived under continual anxiety, occaſioned partly by the neighbourhood of their active enterpriſing enemy, and partly by the perfidious deſigns of thoſe whom they had intruſted with the reins of government. But their domeſtic diſſenſions were now compoſed; the enemy was removed

to

to a greater diſtance, and their frontier was formed either by towns ſtrongly fortified, or by navigable rivers, in which they could avail themſelves of the ſuperiority of their naval force. They were no longer diſquieted by ſuſpicions of the fidelity of their governors; and the loſs which they had ſuffered by the death of the Prince of Orange, was compenſated by the extraordinary merit of his ſon. BOOK XXII. 1591.

French affairs.

But there was nothing which contributed ſo much to inſpire them with their preſent hopes, as their knowledge of Philip's attention being ſtill as much engroſſed as ever with the affairs of France. In proſecution of his plan for acquiring the ſovereignty of that kingdom, by fomenting the war, he had, after the Duke of Parma raiſed the ſiege of Paris, afforded the leaders of the league only ſuch aſſiſtance as was neceſſary to ſave them from being overwhelmed. Their power was at this time exceedingly reduced, while that of the King had received a proportional augmentation. By his bravery and good conduct, joined to his clemency and moderation, Henry had allured great numbers of his rebellious ſubjects to their duty; and had, at the ſame time, engaged the Proteſtants in Germany, and the Queen of England, to intereſt themſelves more deeply than ever in his cauſe. For ſeveral months

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months paſt he had been abſolute maſter of the field, and he had lately begun the ſiege of Rouen, with an army amounting nearly to thirty thouſand horſe and foot. Both the town and garriſon were commanded by the Sieur de Villars, who diſplayed the higheſt degree of intrepidity, vigilance, and ſkill in the defence. But there was little probability of his being able to defend it long againſt ſo powerful an army, whoſe operations were conducted by ſo great a maſter in the art of war.

Siege of Rouen.

THE Duke de Mayenne, and other Catholic leaders, dreaded that the reduction of ſo important a place as Rouen would prove fatal to their party, and they had exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly to relieve it; but having no army, with which they could venture to enter the liſts with the King, they had recourſe as formerly to Philip, and ſpared no pains to convince him, that if he did not ſpeedily interpoſe, Rouen, and all the other towns in their poſſeſſion, muſt ere long ſubmit to the King's victorious arms. They were ſeconded in their application by the Spaniſh miniſters in France; and in conſequence of inſtructions ſent from Madrid to the Duke of Parma, that General, after his return from Spa, had been entirely occupied in preparing to lead his army a ſecond time to the aſſiſtance of the league.

His

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His preparations were finiſhed about the middle of December, and on the 21ſt of that month he began his march, taking the ſame precautions as in his former expedition. He was joined by the Duke de Mayenne in the province of Picardy, and his army, after the reinforcement brought him by the Duke, amounted to five-and-twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe.

Duke of Parma's ſecond expedition into France.

As, in order to preſerve his troops freſh and vigorous, he marched only a few miles each day, it was near the end of January before he reached the province of Normandy. At that time the ſiege of Rouen was far advanced, and the garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity. When the King therefore heard of the Duke of Parma's approach, he could not reſolve to relinquiſh his enterpriſe; but he left his infantry to proſecute the ſiege, and advanced towards the Duke with his cavalry, in hopes that, by haraſſing and retarding him on his march, the garriſon would be obliged to capitulate before he could arrive.

By his vigilance, intrepidity, and quick diſcernment, Henry was admirably fitted for the bold and dangerous enterpriſe in which he was now engaged; but his impetuous courage was not

Danger of Henry at Aumale.

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not always under the government of prudence, and betrayed him ſometimes into raſh and deſperate attempts, more beoming an officer of inferior rank, than a General or a King. Of this he gave a ſtriking proof in his conduct on the preſent occaſion. Having advanced before the reſt of the cavalry with three or four hundred horſe, he met, unexpectedly near the town of Aumale, with the forerunners of the Duke of Parma's army, and he repulſed them with little difficulty; but although the whole Spaniſh army was in ſight, he would not retire till he had taken a view of the order of their march, nor even after he ſaw the Duke's light horſe advancing towards him. With theſe likewiſe he encountered, and fought long and deſperately, till many of his troops had fallen by his ſide, and he himſelf was wounded. Had not the Duke of Parma ſuſpected an ambuſcade, he might eaſily have cut off the King's retreat. He was urged by Mayenne to ſend forward more troops for that purpoſe, but he refuſed to comply with the Duke's requeſt; and when he was afterwards reminded of the opportunity which he had loſt, he replied, that he could not reproach himſelf for his conduct, as he ſuppoſed, that, in the King of Navarre, he had a great General to contend with, and not merely the Captain of a troop of horſe.

HENRY

HENRY was no ſooner able, after his wound, to get on horſeback, than he reſumed his firſt deſign of annoying the enemy on their march; and this he did with more circumſpection than before, but with ſuch indefatigable vigour and activity, as kept the Duke of Parma in perpetual alarms. Several warm rencounters paſſed, in which the ſucceſs was various. The Duke's vigilance, and the perfect diſcipline which he maintained, preſerved his army from ſuſtaining any great calamity. His march however was conſiderably retarded, and there was much reaſon to apprehend, that the beſieged would be compelled to ſurrender before he could advance to their relief. 1591.

Spirited conduct of Villars.

NOTHING leſs than the intrepidity and ſkill of Villars could have protracted the ſiege to ſo great a length. This brave man, far from having any thoughts of capitulating, aſpired to the glory of raiſing the ſiege without the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards. With this view he reſolved to take advantage of the abſence of the King, and to exert at once his whole force in an attack on the beſiegers. Never was attack conducted with more intrepidity and vigour. Great numbers of the royaliſts were put to the ſword; the Marſhal de Biron, their Commander in Chief, was wounded; their trenches were filled up; many of their cannon

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cannon were ſpiked, or buried in the ditch; and their ſtores of proviſion and ammunition were either carried into the town or deſtroyed. Villars was at laſt repulſed, and obliged to retire within the walls; but not till the enemy had ſuffered ſo much loſs by the deſtruction of their works and ſtores, that he expected to be able to defend the town for ſeveral months longer, if his garriſon were reinforced.

Of this happy change in his ſituation, Villars gave immediate notice to the Duke of Parma, and adviſed him to turn his arms to ſome other quarter, where they might be employed with greater advantage to the common cauſe. It was ſuſpected, that vanity had conſiderable influence in prompting Villars to give this advice. The Duke was within two days' march of Rouen when he received it, and he immediately called a council of war to conſider of what was proper to be done.

He was himſelf of opinion, that he ought ſtill to purſue his march, in order to attack the enemy before they had recovered from their confuſion; and he obſerved, that if he ſhould only ſend a reinforcement to the garriſon, as the Governor had deſired, the King of Navarre would inſtantly renew the operations of the ſiege, and probably exert himſelf with greater

vigour than before. But the Duke de Mayenne and the other French nobility, leſs bold on this occaſion than the Duke of Parma, repreſented, that, notwithſtanding the diſaſter which had befallen the royaliſts, it would be extremely dangerous to attack them in their intrenchments whilſt their cavalry were ſo numerous; that when the nobility, who ſerved without pay, and were already impatient under the length of the ſiege, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, ſaw that there was no proſpect of a battle, they would leave the camp, and retire to their reſpective homes; that the Duke might then attack the King with the higheſt probability of ſucceſs; and that till then the troops might either be employed in ſome other enterpriſe, or conducted to winter-quarters, whence they might iſſue forth freſh and vigorous, when a more advantageous ſeaſon for action ſhould arrive. Whether Mayenne ſpoke from conviction on this occaſion, or from his dread of the Duke of Parma's acquiring too great a ſuperiority over the King, is doubtful. Farneſe was not entirely ſatisfied with his reaſoning, and could not approve of a reſolution to neglect one favourable opportunity, on account of the uncertain expectation of another. But as the propoſal was perfectly conſiſtent with his plan of protracting the war, he complied with it; and, having ſent eight hundred

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hundred ſelect troops to reinforce the garriſon of Rouen, he led his army back to Picardy, and inveſted the town of St. Eſprit de Rue.

He had no ſooner ſet out, than the King applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the proſecution of the ſiege of Rouen; and as he received at this time a ſeaſonable ſupply of cannon and ammunition from the States of Holland, he was enabled to carry on his operations with greater ſucceſs than ever.

The ſiege of Rouen raiſed.

In a few weeks the garriſon was again reduced to the moſt critical ſituation, and Villars, notwithſtanding the confidence of which he had lately given ſo ſtrong a proof, was obliged to let the Duke of Parma know, that, if he did not return to his relief before the twentieth of April, he would find it neceſſary to give up the town. Mayenne was now as ſolicitous to perſuade the Duke of Parma to lead his army againſt the King, as he had been formerly reluctant and averſe. And the Duke more readily yielded to his deſire, as certain intelligence had been received, that, agreeably to Mayenne's prediction, the cavalry in the King's army did not at this time amount to more than the half of their former number. Having drawn off his troops from St. Eſprit de

de Rue, he ſet out without delay for Rouen, and proceeded with ſo great expedition, that he performed the ſame march in ſix days, which had formerly coſt him twenty. BOOK XXII. 1591.

THE King was equally diſappointed and ſurpriſed when he heard of his approach. He dreaded the danger to which his army would be expoſed, if he remained in his preſent ſituation, between ſo brave a garriſon on the one hand, and the Spaniſh army on the other; and he would have gone to meet the Duke of Parma at a diſtance from the town; but finding, upon an accurate review of his troops, that they were greatly inferior in number to the enemy, he raiſed the ſiege, after it had laſted five months, and retired to Pont de l'Arche, with a reſolution to wait there for a return of his nobility. The Duke of Parma in the mean time advanced in battle array, and entered Rouen in a kind of triumph. From Rouen he led his army, by the advice of Mayenne, and the other leaders of the league, againſt Caudbec, which it was thought neceſſary to reduce, before the deliverance of Rouen could be deemed complete. April 20.

IN taking a review of the fortifications, and marking the ground for batteries, which he did as on other occaſions, with his own hand, Duke of Parma wounded at Caudbec.

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he received a wound by a muſket-ball, which entered his arm a little below the elbow, and pierced downward till it lodged in his wriſt. Without any change in his voice or countenance, he continued to give his orders as before, nor could his ſon and the other by-ſtanders perſuade him to retire till he had inſtructed them fully in his deſigns. In order to diſcover the courſe of the ball, his ſurgeon found it neceſſary to make three different inciſions; and the pain occaſioned by theſe and the wound brought on a fever, which confined him to his bed for ſeveral days. This accident had almoſt proved fatal to his army and to the league. The ſiege of Caudbec was conducted agreeably to his direction, and was ſoon brought to a concluſion; but in undertaking this ſiege, the Duke had committed the only conſiderable blunder which we meet with in the hiſtory of his life. Caudbec lies in the peninſula of Caux, which is formed by the Seine on the weſt, and the ſea and the river d'Eu, or Breſle, on the north and eaſt. As the King, by poſſeſſing the towns of Eu, Arques, and Dieppe, commanded the entrance into Caux from the eaſt, it was impoſſible for the army of the league to get out of it, but either by croſſing the Seine, or returning ſouthward the ſame road by which they had entered the peninſula. In this way they might have eſcaped, if they had

had attempted it in time; and perhaps they would have done ſo, had it not been judged neceſſary for the General's recovery that he ſhould remain for ſeveral days at Caudbec. 1592.

The Spaniſh army blockaded up in Caux.

THE King quickly perceived the advantage which was preſented to him, and exerted himſelf with ardour to improve it. Having, immediately after he had raiſed the ſiege of Rouen, diſpatched meſſengers, to ſummon his nobility to return to his camp, they had obeyed his ſummons with their wonted alacrity; and in the ſpace of a few days, his army was augmented to ſeventeen thouſand foot, and between ſeven and eight thouſand horſe. With this army he left Pont de l'Arche on the 30th of April, and arrived on the ſame day within ſight of the enemy, who had encamped at Yvetot, which lies at the diſtance of three or four miles from Caudbec.

HENRY's firſt care was to fortify his camp in ſuch a manner, that it might not be in the power of the enemy to compel him to engage; and his next, to make himſelf maſter of all the defiles through which they might attempt to force their paſſage. Many hot rencounters happened, in which both parties gave conſpicuous proofs of proweſs and intrepidity. The royaliſts were frequently repulſed from their ſta-

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tions, and much blood was ſpilt. But at laſt they accompliſhed their deſign, and hemmed in the enemy ſo cloſely that it was no longer practicable for them to approach to the outlet from the peninſula. In this ſituation they remained a fortnight. Their ſtock of proviſions was almoſt ſpent, and Henry began to indulge the flattering hope, that in a few days they would lay down their arms.

Their paſſage of the Seine at Caudbec.

NOTHING but the bold inventive genius of the Duke of Parma could have ſaved them from this diſgrace: he had erred when he entered the peninſula, while ſo vigilant an enemy as Henry was ſo near. Neither the importunity of the chiefs of the league, nor his ignorance of the country, nor the hopes of finiſhing his enterprize before the King could arrive, are entirely ſufficient to juſtify his conduct. But he now fully atoned for his imprudence in expoſing his troops to ſo great a riſk, by the extraordinary capacity and vigour which he exerted in their deliverance.

As ſoon as he had recovered from the diſtreſs occaſioned by his wound, and taken a view of the poſition and ſtrength of the enemy, he perceived that it would be in vain to attempt to force their lines; and conſequently, that there was no other way by which he could ſave

ſave his army from captivity or ruin, but by transporting it over the river. To this expedient he reſolved to have recourſe, and he communicated his deſign to the Duke de Mayenne, and ſome other of his moſt experienced officers, who all pronounced it to be impracticable. They knew how difficult it was to paſs even the moſt inconſiderable river in ſight of an enemy, and they could not conceive it poſſible for an army ſo much incumbered with artillery and baggage, to paſs ſo broad a river as the Seine at Caudbec, when not only a powerful enemy, ſo vigilant as the King, but the Dutch ſhips of war likewiſe, were prepared to obſtruct their paſſage. BOOK XXII. 1592.

The Duke was fully ſenſible of all the difficulties with which his enterprize muſt be attended, but as the urgent neceſſity of his ſituation would not ſuffer him to relinquiſh it, he perſiſted in his reſolution of attempting to carry it into execution.

Having firſt cleared the river of the Dutch ſhips, by planting batteries along the banks, he ordered the Sieur de Villars to hold all the boats and barks at Rouen in readineſs, and to prepare a number of raſts of ſtrong beams fit for tranſporting the artillery. After this, taking advantage of a thick miſt, on the 16th of May,

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he ſent out his cavalry by day-break, as if he intended an attack, and while the enemy were thus amuſed, he drew off his infantry from Yvetot to Caudbec. The cavalry followed; and as ſoon as they had retired, the King advanced with all his forces, having no ſuſpicion of the Duke's deſign, and wondering that he ſhould have choſen to move his camp to a ſituation in which it was more confined and ſtraitened than before. Henry ſtill thought of nothing but blocking up the paſſages, and fortifying his camp ſo as not to be obliged to accept of battle.

WHILE the King was thus occupied, the Duke employed a great number of pioneers in raiſing two forts, one on each ſide of the river, directly oppoſite to each other, which he planted with cannon, and lined with muſketeers. To prevent the King from taking the alarm, he maintained all the ſame appearances as formerly, of a deſign to enlarge his quarters, and frequent ſkirmiſhes were fought.

AT laſt, every thing neceſſary being prepared, the rafts and the boats (of which there was a great number at Rouen employed in the river trade) fell down with the ebbing tide, in the evening of the 20th of May; and, on the ſame night, the greateſt part of the troops, artillery, and

and baggage was tranſported. The King perceiving early next morning a change in the appearance of the enemy's camp, ſent the Baron de Biron to reconnoitre it. The Baron returned immediately at full gallop, calling out, that the Spaniards were paſſing the river. Henry ſet out without delay, at the head of his cavalry. When he came in ſight, he had the mortification to obſerve, that only two or three thouſand of the Spaniards remained on this ſide, and that they were ſo ſkilfully defended by the fort, that he could not approach them without ſacrificing the lives of many of his troops. He then planted his artillery on a hill which commanded the paſſage, and the Dutch ſhips came up the river from Quillebeuf; but before the cannon were ready to fire, and before the Dutch were near enough to do execution, the rear of the Spaniards, conducted with much prudence by Prince Rannucio, the Duke of Parma's ſon, had landed ſafe on the other ſide, and ſet the boats on fire.

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NEITHER the King nor any of the French nobility had ever ſuſpected that ſuch a retreat was poſſible; and this circumſtance, joined to the nature of the ground near Caudbec, which concealed the Duke of Parma's operations, contributed not a little to the fortunate iſſue of his enterpriſe. Henry had for ſeveral days

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entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of gaining a deciſive victory, which would probably have given him immediate poſſeſſion of his kingdom; and his mortification now was in proportion to the confidence of his former expectations: it was the more ſenſible and galling, as his infantry was ſo much exhauſted by the hardſhips of a tedious winter's campaign, that it was impoſſible for him at preſent either to purſue the enemy, or to renew the ſiege of Rouen. The Duke de Mayenne entered this city with a part of the forces, and the Duke of Parma directed his march towards the Netherlands, where he arrived in a few weeks without receiving any moleſtation by the way [h].

Hiſtory of Antonio Perez.

WHILE Philip thus kept alive the flames of war in France, he had the good fortune to preſerve his Spaniſh dominions in a ſtate of undiſturbed tranquillity; and as a kingdom in this ſituation furniſhes few materials for hiſtory, hardly any tranſaction paſſed in Spain during ſeveral years preceding the preſent period that deſerves to be recorded; but in the courſe of this year an affair happened, which, while it marks the character and ſhews the ſecret life of Philip, was attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences.

[h] D'Avila, lib. xiii. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. vi.; and Thuanus, lib. ciii.

HAVING

HAVING been engaged in a love intrigue with Anna Mendoza Princeſs of Eboli[1], he had committed the conduct of it to his ſecretary Antonio Perez, who having frequent opportunities of converſing with that Princeſs, had become no leſs enamoured of her than the King; and it was generally believed that ſhe had made him a full return to the paſſion which her beauty had inſpired. At the time when Antonio's correſpondence with the Princeſs was much talked of, Eſcovedo, the friend and confident of Don John of Auſtria, had arrived from the Netherlands, to ſolicit the King for the return of the Italian and Spaniſh forces; and finding the Secretary averſe to Don John's deſigns, he reſolved to take vengeance on him, by making a diſcovery to the King of what was reported of Antonio's familiarity with the Princeſs of Eboli. Philip readily believed this intelligence, and conceived an implacable reſentment againſt the Secretary; but he was animated at the ſame time with hatred no leſs implacable towards Eſcovedo; who, he believed, had fomented Don John's ambition, and would ſooner or later engage that Prince in ſome deſperate enterprize inconſiſtent with his allegiance. Philip reſolved to employ one of theſe men as the inſtrument of his vengeance

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[1] The wife of Ruy Gomez de Silva.

againſt

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againſt the other, and gave a private order to Perez to have Eſcovedo aſſaſſinated. This order was executed without delay, and ſoon afterwards a proſecution was begun againſt the murderer, with Philip's permiſſion, by the widow and children of Eſcovedo. Philip intended by this meaſure to remove all ſuſpicions of being acceſſary to the murder. But dreading that Perez might, for his own exculpation, make a full diſcovery, he wrote him ſeveral letters with his own hand, requiring that he would conceal the order which had been given him, and aſſuring him, that a ſtop ſhould ſoon be put to the proſecution. It was ſtopped accordingly; and although Perez was forbid to come to court himſelf, he was allowed for ſome years to tranſact the ſeveral branches of public buſineſs which had been intruſted to him, by his deputies or clerks. But no time could aſſuage the King's reſentment: after ſix years he commanded him to be tried for malverſation in the diſcharge of his office, and having ordered a fine of thirty thouſand ducats to be impoſed on him, he threw him into priſon and loaded him with chains. Perez was offered his liberty on condition that he ſhould give up all the King's letters relative to the murder of Eſcovedo. He delivered ſome of them, and was releaſed; but Philip was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the letters, than a new proceſs on account

account of the murder was commenced. Perez was again thrown into priſon and put to the torture; and he now perceived that nothing leſs than his death was intended. With the aſſiſtance of his wife and friends he eſcaped and fled to Arragon, his native country, where he expected to avail himſelf of the rights and privileges of the Arragonians. Philip no ſooner heard of his eſcape, than he diſpatched certain officers after him, who overtook him in the town of Calataiude; and having forced him from a monaſtery, where he had taken refuge, conducted him to Saragoſſa. When he arrived in that city, he appealed to the Juſtiza, to whom, according to a fundamental law of the conſtitution, an appeal was competent from every other judge whether civil or eccleſiaſtical.

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By the Juſtiza, Perez was lodged in the ſtate-priſon, called the Manifeſtation, to remain there till his cauſe ſhould be tried. But although no perſon could legally enter this priſon, without the ſpecial permiſſion of the Juſtiza, the Marquis of Almenar, the King's attorney for Arragon, broke into it with a body of armed men, and carried off Perez to the priſon of the Inquiſition. The people, who had ever been accuſtomed to hold the perſon and authority of the Juſtiza in the higheſt veneration, were inflamed with rage at this

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indignity, and having riſen tumultuouſly, they reſcued Perez from the inquiſitors, ſurrounded the Marquis of Almenar, and after reviling him as a traitor to the liberty of his country, maltreated him in ſuch a manner, that he died ſoon afterwards of his wounds.

PEREZ was again lodged in the priſon of ſtate, and remained there for ſeveral months, during which time the Governor, or Viceroy, ordered thirteen of the principal lawyers of Saragoſſa, to examine whether the cauſe belonged more properly to the Juſtiza, or to the Court of Inquiſition. After long deliberation they declared, that it would be a violation of the liberties of Arragon, if Perez were tried by any other judge than the Juſtiza; but afterwards, being either corrupted or intimidated, they reverſed this ſentence, under the pretence of the priſoner's having held a ſecret correſpondence with the King of France, a heretic, and pronounced that it belonged to the Inquiſition to take cogniſance of his cauſe.

THE Juſtiza paid no regard to this opinion of the lawers, but perſiſted in defending the privileges of his office, and in refuſing to deliver up the priſoner. The Viceroy had recourſe to force; and having drawn together a great number of the familiars of the Inquiſi-

tion, he broke open the ſtate priſon, loaded Perez with chains, and was carrying him off in a ſort of triumph, when the people aroſe a ſecond time, and ſet him at liberty. He immediately left the town, and made his eſcape into France, where he gave uſeful information to the King with regard to the deſigns and meaſures of the court of Spain. 1592.

PHILIP in the mean time reſolved not to neglect the opportunity which this ſedition of the Arragonians afforded him, to ſhew how little he regarded thoſe rights and privileges of which they had ſhewn themſelves ſo tenacious. Having formed an army of the troops which were quartered in different parts of Caſtile, he gave the command of it to Alphonſo Vargas, with inſtructions to march to Saragoſſa with the utmoſt expedition; and to prevent the Arragonians from preparing for reſiſtance, he gave out that this army was intended to aſſiſt the Catholics in France. The Arragonians however having received certain intelligence of his deſign, began to prepare for their defence. Lamuſa, the Juſtiza, having convened the principal inhabitants, and read to them a fundamental law of their conſtitution, by which it is declared, that they have a right to oppoſe by force the entrance of foreign troops into Arragon, even though the King himſelf ſhould

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ſhould lead them, it was decreed with unanimous conſent, that conformably to this law they ſhould take up arms on the preſent occaſion, to prevent the entrance of the Caſtilians under Vargas.

INTIMATION of this decree was ſent to the other cities of the province, and the inhabitants of Saragoſſa repaired in great numbers to the ſtandard of liberty that was erected. But they had no leader of ſufficient capacity to conduct them, and there was no time for the people in other places to come to their aſſiſtance. Vargas having arrived much ſooner than they expected, they were overwhelmed with terror, and threw down their arms.

The Juſtiza of Arragon put to death.

VARGAS entered the city without oppoſition, and caſt ſuch of their leaders as has not made their eſcape into priſon. Among theſe were the Duke de Villa Hermoſa, the Count of Aranda, and the Juſtiza. The two firſt he ſent priſoners to Madrid, but he put the Juſtiza publicly to death without either trial or ſentence, and then confiſcated his effects, and levelled his houſes with the ground; ordering proclamation to be made in the city, that ſuch ſhould be the puniſhment of all thoſe who, like Lanuſa, ſhould adventure to diſpute the authority of the King.

THE

THE people heard this inſulting proclamation with unſpeakable grief and indignation; but they were obliged to lament in ſecret the ruin of thoſe invaluable rights which they were unable to defend. The palace of the Inquiſition was fortified, that it might ſerve the purpoſe of a citadel; and a ſtrong body of Caſtilian troops were quartered there and in the town, where they remained till the minds of the citizens were thoroughly ſubdued. Philip thought it neceſſary to aboliſh formally their conſtitution of government, as he had given them ſufficient proof how inſignificant they would find it, if they ſhould ever truſt to it as a barrier againſt the encroachments of the regal power. 1592.

Sickneſs of the Duke of Parma

WHILE this tranſaction paſſed in Spain, the Duke of Parma had returned from France to the Netherlands, and from thence the bad ſtate of his health had made it neceſſary for him to go once more to drink the waters at Spa. In the time of his French expedition, many of the troops which he had left behind him had mutinied; and on his return from Spa, he had the mortification to find, that Prince Maurice had ſubdued the two important towns of Steenwich and Coverdent, although the former of theſe places had been fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner, and was defended by a brave and

BOOK XXII. and determined garriſon of one thouſand ſix hundred men.

1592.

THE Duke's chagrin at theſe events contributed to quicken the progreſs of his diſeaſe, which having baffled the power of medicine, had now reduced him ſo low, that finding himſelf unable to fulfil the duties of his office, he had applied to the King for liberty to retire.

His death. BUT Philip believing that no other perſon was ſo able to bring his ſchemes in France to the deſired iſſue, refuſed to grant his requeſt; and when he ſignified his refuſal, ſent him inſtructions to return as ſoon as poſſible to the aſſiſtance of the League. The Duke would not deſert a ſtation which he had filled with ſo much honour, and reſolved to ſtruggle with his diſtemper to the laſt. Having by new levies ſupplied ſome of the vacancies in his army, he went, on the 29th of October, to Arras, and there applied with his wonted aſſiduity to haſten the neceſſary preparations for his expedition. The ſtrength of his mind counterbalanced for ſeveral weeks the weakneſs of his body. From the vigour which he diſplayed, thoſe about him conceived hopes that his death was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance. But on the third of December, immediately after ſigning ſome diſpatches which had been prepared for his ſubſcrip-

ſubſcription, he expired in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his government of the Netherlands. BOOK XXII. 1592.

In this manner died Alexander Farneſe, Duke of Parma, who claims our admiration, no leſs for his political wiſdom and ſagacity, than on account of thoſe more ſplendid military talents which have procured him ſuch diſtinguiſhed renown. It was by his prudence, moderation, and addreſs, more than by the force of arms, that he re-united ſo great a part of the Netherlands to the Spaniſh monarchy; and if Philip had paid the ſame regard to his opinion on all occaſions, which he did on ſome, it is probable that the United Provinces would have been compelled to return to their allegiance. England might in that caſe have been ſubdued, and France might have been ſwallowed up by the exorbitant power of Spain. Though it was happy for Europe that Philip, blinded by flattery and ambition, refuſed to liſten to the counſels that were offered him, yet we muſt admire that ſuperior ſagacity and penetration by which they were ſuggeſted. and character.

The Duke of Parma in his youth gave no indications of thoſe extraordinary qualities with which nature had endowed him, and men were even diſpoſed to think unfavourably of his underſtanding;

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derſtanding; but in the war with the Turks, in which he ſerved under John of Auſtria, the flame of his genius broke forth and burnt afterwards through the whole of his life with unabating ſplendor. His perſon was graceful, his eyes lively and penetrating, his manner courteous, his addreſs inſinuating, and his temper generous and humane.

His vices, ſays a reſpectable Dutch writer[k], were thoſe of the age in which he lived, or of the court in which he had been educated; but what theſe vices were, neither this, nor any other hiſtorian has informed us. He appears not to have poſſeſſed that winning ſimplicity of manners, that perfect ingenuity and candour, by which his great rival for military fame, the French monarch, was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed; yet the Proteſtant, as well as Popiſh hiſtorians acknowledge, that as he was dutiful and faithful to his Prince, ſo he maintained the moſt inviolable fidelity in all his engagements with the people of the Netherlands who ſubmitted to his arms.

[k] Grotius.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XXIII.

AFTER the death of the Duke of Parma, Philip committed the government of the Netherlands to Count Peter Erneſt of Manſfeldt, whom he ordered to ſend an army, without delay, under the command of his ſon Count Charles, to the aſſiſtance of the League. In obedience to this order, Charles immediately began his march with ſix thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, which was the greateſt number of troops that could be ſpared from the defence of the Netherlands. Theſe troops, when joined by thoſe of the Duke de Mayenne, compoſed an army of fifteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, of which the Duke was inveſted with the chief command.

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1593. Count Manſfeldt Governor.

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1593. Siege of Noyon.

He began his operations with the ſiege of Noyon, in which he exerted himſelf with extraordinary vigour, and compelled the garriſon to ſurrender, before the King could arrive to their relief. From Noyon the troops were led in Lower Picardy, where ſome inconſiderable places were reduced. But ſoon after this ſucceſs, Count Manſveldt with the Spaniſh army returned to the Netherlands; and the operations of war were interrupted by certain political negotiations, from which Philip expected to derive greater advantage than from the progreſs of his arms.

Convention of the States of the League.

Having, during ſeveral years, waſted the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects, in fomenting the war in France, in expectation of ſome favourable opportunity of ſeizing upon the crown, his patience had been for ſome time paſt exhauſted; and he had reſolved to make trial, whether it was practicable to realiſe thoſe alluring hopes by which he had ſo long been actuated. With this view his miniſters had repeatedly requeſted the Duke of Mayenne to ſummon an aſſembly of the States of the League, that it might be known what Catholic Prince they inclined to chooſe for their Sovereign. Mayenne ſtill cheriſhed the hopes of attaining the ſovereignty himſelf, in ſome future more favourable criſis; and he abhorred the thoughts

thoughts of having the French nation ſubjected to the dominion of Spain. Influenced by theſe motives, he had on different pretences declined for ſeveral months complying with Philip's requeſt; but finding that he would not be diverted from his purpoſe, the Duke had yielded to his importunity, and as Lieutenant General of the kingdom, had iſſued a ſummons for the States to meet at Paris on the twenty-ſixth of January one thouſand five hundred and ninty-three. Philip ſent the Duke of Feria, and Mendoza, an eminent Spaniſh lawyer, to this aſſembly; and he fondly imagined, that, by their influence, and that of the Cardinal Piacenza, the Pope's legate, a majority of the deputies might be perſuaded to abrogate the Salic law, and to place his daughter Iſabella on the throne.

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Discovery of Philip's views.

But it ſoon appeared how much his miniſters in France had deceived him, and been themſelves deceived. Neither the money which he had ſecretly beſtowed to increaſe the number of his partiſans, nor the armies which he had employed at ſo great an expence in their behalf, had produced in any conſiderable degree the effects which he expected. Some of the greateſt bigots in the party, and ſome of the loweſt of the people, had given credit to his profeſſions of zeal for religion; even the eyes of theſe men were now opened, and they

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perceived how little they had been indebted to the friendſhip of a Prince, who now diſcovered, that his principal deſign in aſſiſting them againſt their enemies, had been to take advantage of their diſtreſs, and to reduce them to the unhappy condition of a province of Spain. For it was in this light they conſidered his propoſal; and were no leſs alarmed at his demand of their crown for Iſabella, than if he had demanded it for himſelf. In theſe ſentiments the deputies were ſecretly confirmed by Mayenne. But as both he and they were conſcious that they were utterly unable to contend with Henry, if Philip ſhould forſake them, they ſtudied to conceal their averſion to his propoſal. They neither agreed to it, nor rejected it; but expreſſed their ſolicitude with regard to the perſon whom the Catholic King ſhould make choice of for his daughter's huſband; and inſiſted, that in the event of her election, ſhe ſhould not be married to any foreign Prince.

THE Spaniſh miniſters informed them, that their maſter had indeed deſigned to give her in marriage to Erneſt Archduke of Auſtria; but ſince it was not agreeable to the States, he was willing to beſtow her upon the Duke of Guiſe. The Duke de Mayenne did not expect this conceſſion, and was greatly diſconcerted when the

the Spaniſh miniſters produced inſtructions, empowering them to make it. He was ſtung with the preference which was given to his nephew before his ſon; and he now ſecretly reſolved to obſtruct the election of Iſabella, to the utmoſt of his power. Finding it neceſſary however to diſguiſe his ſentiments, he affected to be highly pleaſed with the propoſal; but alleged, that a regard to the honour of His Catholic Majeſty, as well as to the ſafety of the Duke of Guiſe, required that the election of Iſabella ſhould be deferred till an army was aſſembled ſufficient to overpower her enemies, and to fix her upon the throne. At preſent there was no army in France able to contend with the King of Navarre, and a conſiderable time muſt elapſe before ſo great a force as was neceſſary could be raiſed. The Spaniſh miniſters were ſenſible of the ſtrength of this objection; they likewiſe knew that, without the aſſiſtance of Mayenne, they could not perſuade the States to proceed to the election; and therefore, without great oppoſition, they agreed to a delay. In this manner did the Duke de Mayenne, influenced partly by ambition, and partly by concern for the freedom and independence of the kingdom, diſappoint for the preſent Philip's plan to enſlave it; and other events afterwards happened, which would have rendered it im-

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possible, even for Mayenne himself, had he been so inclined, to carry it into execution.

1593. Henry IV. embraces the Catholic religion.

THE King of France, who knew the purpose for which the States had been convened, though he was in a great measure ignorant of Mayenne's views, dreaded violently his concurring with the Spaniards; and felt great anxiety with respect to the consequences which might follow. For Philip, he believed, would regard an election made by the States of the League, though only a small part of the kingdom, as a sufficient foundation for his daughter's claim, and would employ all his power to support it, whatever prejudice might thence arise to his affairs in the Netherlands. On the first opening of the assembly, Henry published an edict declaring it to be illegal. And he gave permission at the same time to the Catholic Lords of his party, to enter into a conference with those of the League; intending to prevent the States from proceeding to extremities, by affording them the prospect of his speedy conversion to the Popish faith.

THIS expedient was in some measure attended with the desired effect. The nobility of the League, disquieted with the apprehensions of being reduced under the dominion of Spain, and

and conſcious, that, if Philip ſhould abandon them, they muſt ſoon yield to the King's victorious arms, were thrown into extreme perplexity; and many of them ſhewed that nothing was wanting but Henry's converſion, to determine them to acknowledge his authority. This condition however was ſtill as neceſſary as ever. From the long continuance of the war, their religious prejudices were become unconquerable. With theſe their ſenſe of honour and conſiſtency conſpired, and their regard to an oath which they had ſworn, never to acknowledge an heretical prince for their ſovereign. They were confirmed in their reſolution, by the Pope's legate, and by the Archbiſhop of Lyons, and other partiſans of Spain; and were ſtill as much determined as ever to adhere to their engagements, without regard to any inconveniences or dangers, to which they might thereby be expoſed.

While the delay of the King's converſion proved an inſurmountable objection againſt him with the members of the League, it gave the moſt ſenſible uneaſineſs to ſuch of the Catholics as had eſpouſed his cauſe. They had been induced to remain with him, after the death of the late King, by his promiſe of embracing their religion. They had often urged him to fulfil this promiſe. Amidſt the hurry of

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of arms, he found it eaſy to employ excuſes, with which they had hitherto been ſatisfied. But their patience was now exhauſted. They entertained ſuſpicions that he had dealt inſincerely with them. Though brave and warlike, they were ſick of the hardſhips and fatigues of war; and they began to hold conferences together, on the ſubject of transferring their allegiance to Henry's couſin, the Cardinal of Bourbon. Henry perceived that the critical period was now come, when he muſt reſolve either to change his religion, or to forego the crown, and expoſe himſelf and his Proteſtant ſubjects to the fury and vengeance of all the Catholics in France, ſupported by his inveterate enemy the King of Spain. Even ſome of the Proteſtant leaders were ſo candid as to acknowledge, that without embracing the Catholic faith, he would never be able to preſerve poſſeſſion of the throne; and they exhorted him to embrace it, if his conſcience would permit, as the only means by which they, as well as his other ſubjects, could be ſaved from ruin.

NEVER was an ingenuous Prince placed in a more diſtreſsful ſituation. And never was a virtuous mind aſſailed by temptations more alluring. For he was not impelled only by ambition, or the deſire of ſecuring a great and mighty monarchy to himſelf and his poſterity.

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The deſire of delivering his people from calamities, which were become intolerable, cooperated with his ambition, and both together put his integrity to the ſevereſt trial.

WITHOUT any longer delay, he invited the Catholic divines throughout his kingdom, to come and inſtruct him in the principles of their religion; and having heard them diſcourſe concerning ſeveral of the points in diſpute between the Proteſtants and them, he declared himſelf, entirely ſatisfied with their arguments, and ſoon afterwards went to maſs in the church of St. Dennis, where he read aloud his confeſſion of the Catholic faith, and promiſed to maintain and defend it, againſt whatever attempts might be made for its ſubverſion.

HENRY's conduct on this occaſion was very differently interpreted by his cotemporaries, according as they ſtood well or ill affected to his perſon, or to the religion which he had embraced. It was alleged by ſome, that he had given a convincing proof of his indifference with regard to all religion, and that his converſion could be conſidered in no other light, but as hypocriſy and grimace. But others more juſtly obſerved, that if Henry had been capable of ſo great inſincerity as his enemies aſcribed to him, he would have liſtened to his intereſt

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intereſt at a much earlier period, and not have ſo long expoſed himſelf to the danger of being for ever excluded from the throne. That no other ſatisfactory account could be given of his delay, but the ſcruples with which his regard to truth and his ſenſe of honour had inſpired him. That it was not ſurpriſing, that a Prince who had paſſed his life amidſt the tumults of war, ſhould have been but very imperfectly acquainted with the niceties of theological diſputes; or that his opinions in matters of ſuch difficult deciſion, ſhould have been gradually bent to a compliance with ſo great an intereſt as he had at ſtake. And conſidering how candid and ſincere he had ever ſhewn himſelf in all his conduct, it might juſtly be ſuppoſed that he had ſtill preſerved his integrity, and that his religious ſentiments had in reality undergone that change which he now expreſſed with ſo much ſeeming ſerioufneſs and ſolemnity.

Effects of Henry's converſion.

WHATEVER were the real motives of Henry's conduct, it diffuſed a general joy and ſatisfaction among his ſubjects. Worn out with the miſeries of ſo long a war, they exulted at the proſpect of peace, though ſtill at ſome diſtance; and being now freed from the faſcination of their religious prejudices, they could perceive and admire thoſe illuſtrious virtues in the

the character of their Sovereign, by which he was ſo highly qualified to make them happy.

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THE Spaniſh miniſters, on the other hand, the Cardinal Legate, and the Duke de Mayenne, were greatly alarmed at this event, and ſtill more when they obſerved the reception which the news of it met with among the people. They repreſented it as a political deviſe, intended to prevent the election of a Catholic Prince. They perſuaded a great number of their adherents to ſwear that they would not acknowledge Henry for King, unleſs his converſion were ratified by the Pope; and at the ſame time they employed all their influence at the court of Rome, to diſſuade the Pope from granting him an abſolution.

Philip ſtill adheres to his plan.

PHILIP was not diſcouraged from the proſecution of his ſcheme, either by the oppoſition which it had received from the States of the League, or by the converſion of the King. He became ſenſible however of his error in pitching on the Duke of Guiſe (a young nobleman indeed of great merit and moderation, but poſſeſſed of little power or influence) for his daughter's partner in the throne. This error he corrected, and ordered his miniſters to acquaint the Duke de Mayenne, that he was now determined to give the preference to *his* ſon,

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ſon. In conſequence of this declaration, a negotiation which Mayenne had begun for reconciling himſelf to the King, was broken off. That powerful leader and the Spaniards were henceforth on more amicable terms; and there was no longer any reaſon to doubt, that in future he would exert himſelf with vigour in promoting their deſigns [a].

State of his affairs.

But there was much leſs probability at the preſent than any former period, that theſe deſigns would ever be accompliſhed. Philip had no General after the Duke of Parma's death, qualified to enter the liſts with the King of France. His treaſury was exhauſted, and even his credit was reduced ſo low, that the Genoeſe, and other Italian merchants, from whom he had already borrowed ſeveral millions of money, refuſed to lend him any more. His commanders in the Netherlands had not been able to make the neceſſary levies. His troops there were fewer in number than they had ever been ſince the commencement of the war; and yet ſo great arrears were due to them, that the officers found it impracticable to maintain their authority. The greateſt part of the Spaniſh ſoldiers in the Low-Countries had, upon their return from France, forſaken their ſtandards;

[a] D'Avila, lib. xiv. Thuanus, lib. cvi, cvii.

and

and having elected officers, and a commander-in-chief, from among themſelves, they had begun to exerciſe the moſt oppreſſive rapacity upon the inhabitants of the ſouthern provinces. BOOK XXIII. 1593.

THE example of the Spaniards was quickly followed by the Italians and Walloons. The people in the open country were plundered in the moſt unmerciful manner. Thoſe dreadful ſcenes of devaſtation were renewed, which had been acted after the death of Requeſens; and the Flemings had never ſuffered ſo much from the enemy, as they now ſuffered from troops engaged to protect and defend them.

PRINCE Maurice in the mean time exerted all his wonted activity to improve the advantage which theſe diſorders afforded him, for extending the territories of the States. There was no town which the confederates were more deſirous of acquiring than Gertrudenberg; which, as it lies nearer them than Breda, ſubjected them to perpetual anxiety for the preſervation of that important city; beſides giving annoyance to their inland trade, and furniſhing the Spaniards with an eaſy entrance into Holland. Siege of Gertrudenberg.

DURING the winter, Maurice had made diligent preparation for the ſiege of this place;

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and early in the ſpring, he was ready to take the field with ſuch an army as he judged ſufficient to inſure ſucceſs. In order to prevent the enemy from ſuſpecting his deſign, he directed his march firſt towards Sluys and Dunkirk; afterwards to Bois-le-Duc and Grave; and when by theſe feints he had induced Count Manſveldt to divide his forces, he turned ſuddenly to Gertrudenberg.

MANSVELDT, anxious to avoid the reproach to which the loſs of a place of ſo great conſequence would expoſe him, drew together all the forces which could be ſpared from the garriſons of the other towns, with an intention to attempt to raiſe the ſiege. Prince Maurice expected this, and conducted his operations with the utmoſt celerity. Not only his pioneers, amounting to three thouſand, but a great number of his troops were employed day and night in fortifying his camp, both on the ſide towards the town, to prevent the eruptions of the garriſon, and on the ſide towards the country. And not ſatisfied with this, he broke down the dyke of the river, and laid a great part of the adjacent country under water. After which, having approached the town as uſual by trenches, he opened batteries againſt it at different places; and kept up a continual fire

fire upon it from his fleet, on the ſide towards the river[b]. BOOK XXIII. 1595.

THE garriſon, conſiſting of Burgundians and Walloons, made a brave and vigorous reſiſtance, and thereby gave Count Manſveldt time to advance to their relief. The Count's army amounted to more than double the number of the beſiegers; and he attacked their intrenchments in different places, where the inundation permitted his approach. But Maurice had conſtructed his works with ſo much art, and ſtrengthened them in ſuch a manner with forts and redoubts, at proper diſtances, that all Count Manſveldt's attempts proved ineffectual. The Count's quarters were at the ſame time greatly ſtraitened by the garriſon of Breda, which ſallied out upon him, and made conſiderable ſlaughter among his troops. He found it neceſſary to retire, and Gertrudenberg ſoon afterwards capitulated. In the garriſon there were ſeveral of thoſe ſoldiers, who ſome years before had ſold the town to the Spaniards. Theſe men ſuffered the puniſhment due to their treachery; but all the reſt, and the inhabitants of the place, received the moſt advantageous and honourable terms.

[b] The Maeſe at Gertrudenberg is more properly a branch of the ſea, than a river,—and admits of the largeſt ſhips.

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COUNT Manſveldt had, in order to retrieve his honour, by making repriſals upon the enemy, led his army from Gertrudenberg, to inveſt an important fort belonging to the confederates, called Creveceur. But this attempt likewiſe was fruſtrated by the celerity of Maurice, who arrived before the Count's lines were finiſhed; got between him and the fort, and, though greatly inferior in number, obliged him quickly to raiſe the ſiege.

DURING the reſt of the campaign, Manſveldt acted on the defenſive; and no other event happened in the Netherlands this year, that deſerves to be recorded[c].

Erneſt Archduke of Auſtria, Governor of the Netherlands.

ALTHOUGH Philip had, after the death of the Duke of Parma, committed the government to Count Manſveldt, he had from the firſt intended that the Count ſhould reſign it into the hands of Erneſt Archduke of Auſtria.

1594. This Prince arrived in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-four at Bruſſels; and was received there with every mark of joy and ſatisfaction. He was a Prince of a modeſt and gentle diſpoſition; but he poſſeſſed not the capacity and vigour requiſite in the preſent critical ſituation of

[c] Bentivoglio and Grotius, lib. iii.

affairs.

affairs. Conſcious of his want of military talents, he fondly flattered himſelf with the hopes of prevailing on the revolted provinces to return to their allegiance by argument and perſuaſion. And with this view he ſent an invitation to the States to appoint ambaſſadors to treat with him concerning peace. But the States rejected his invitation, and accompanied their refuſal with declaring, "That, as from experience they could not repoſe any confidence in the King of Spain, ſo they would never enter into any treaty of reconcilement with him; but would maintain their liberty to the laſt, and lay down their lives ſooner than ſubmit to that intolerable yoke from which they had been ſo happily delivered."

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If it is true, as the Dutch hiſtorians relate, that two murderers were detected at this time, whom the Spaniſh miniſters had employed to aſſaſſinate Prince Maurice, it will not appear ſurpriſing that this declaration of the States ſhould have contained expreſſions of reſentment; eſpecially as they were now in a much more flouriſhing condition than before, and had much leſs reaſon than at any former period to dread the power of Spain. For Philip, they knew, was ſtill more intent on acquiring the crown of France, than on recovering his hereditary dominions; and was likely to waſte

BOOK XXIII. his ſtrength in that chimerical attempt, before he could be made ſenſible of his folly.

1594.

Affairs of France.

THE ſituation of affairs in that kingdom became daily more unfavourable to his views; and the King's converſion ſoon produced the happy effects which were expected to ariſe from it.

Wiſe and generous conduct of the King.

THE citizens of Meaux were the firſt who ſent him a tender of their ſubmiſſion; not long afterwards, the Pariſians opened their gates to receive him; and the example of the metropolis, which had ever been the chief ſtrength of the League, was quickly followed by Rouen, Lyons, and almoſt all the other great towns in the kingdom. Henry's conduct was admirably calculated to promote that affectionate zeal of his ſubjects, of which he received at this time ſo many ſtriking proofs. For ſeveral years he had ſuffered from them the moſt cruel injuries and affronts; but his generous ſpirit, ſuperior to reſentment, abhorred the thought of puniſhing thoſe who were willing to lay down their arms; and he received the ſubmiſſion of his moſt inveterate enemies with a degree of goodneſs and condeſcenſion, which, while he won *their* hearts, determined many others to imitate their example.

HE

He granted, to all who ſubmitted to him, the moſt favourable terms; confirmed their privileges, as if they had done nothing to forfeit them; adhered with inviolable fidelity to his engagements, and publiſhed an edict of general indemnity, in order to ſet the minds of the people every where at eaſe, and to convince them that it would be their fault, and not his, if the public tranquillity were not ſpeedily reſtored.

By theſe meaſures, which were equally prudent and magnanimous, the ſtrength of the League was reduced ſo low, that Philip and the Duke of Mayenne might have eaſily perceived the vanity of their deſigns.

Philip's motives for proſecuting the war.

It can hardly be imagined, that either the one or the other could any longer ſeriouſly entertain the hopes of ſucceſs. But Mayenne was ſo deeply engaged with the Spaniards, that he knew not how to extricate himſelf with honour; eſpecially as he had ſolemnly ſworn, with many others of his party, that he would never acknowledge Henry for his ſovereign, till he ſhould receive abſolution from the Pope. And though Philip could not now be ſo chimerical, as to expect to procure the crown for Iſabella, yet he could not overcome that implacable hatred with which he had long been

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animated againſt the French monarch, in whom (judging of Henry from himſelf) he expected to find an irreconcilable and mortal foe. Beſides, he was not ignorant of the juſtice of Henry's claim to the kingdom of Navarre, which Ferdinand the Catholic, had wreſted from Henry's anceſtors by fraud and violence; and he could not doubt that this active, victorious Prince would, as ſoon as his affairs were ſettled in France, either attempt to recover his hereditary kingdom, or endeavour to procure a compenſation for it, by invading the Spaniſh dominions in the Netherlands.

MOVED by theſe conſiderations, Philip reſolved to continue his hoſtilities, and, by joining his forces with thoſe of the Duke of Mayenne, to make himſelf maſter of as many towns as poſſible on the eaſtern frontier of France.

Siege of La Capelle.

THIS reſolution he communicated to the Archduke Erneſt; who, agreeably to his inſtructions, ſent Count Charles of Manſveldt early in the ſpring to invade the province of Picardy, with an army of between eleven and twelve thouſand men. The Count laid ſiege to the town of La Capelle; and as he attacked it unexpectedly, he ſoon obliged the garriſon to capitulate.

9th May.

THE

THE King had ſet out from Paris as ſoon as he received intelligence of the ſiege, but could not arrive in time to prevent the ſurrender. Having been joined on his march by the Dukes De Nevers and Bouillon, and finding himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army[d], he reſolved to undertake ſome important enterpriſe, by which he might be compenſated for the loſs of La Capelle. One of the moſt conſiderable towns in that part of the kingdom was Laon, a place of great extent, ſtrongly fortified, and well provided with every thing neceſſary to ſuſtain a ſiege. The garriſon, which was numerous, was commanded by De Bourg, one of the braveſt officers of the League; and there was at that time in the town, beſides a great number of other nobility, the Count of Somerive, the Duke de Mayenne's ſecond ſon. Theſe conſiderations, far from diſcouraging the King from beſieging Laon, were the motives which determined him to inveſt it, and he carried on his operations againſt it with his uſual activity and vigilance.

1594. Siege of Laon.

THE beſieged gave him all the annoyance and interruption in their power; and in ſome ſallies which they made, before he had time to cover his troops, he loſt more than four hundred men. But his anxiety with regard to

[d] Twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe.

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the iſſue of this enterpriſe, aroſe principally from the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh army, which was joined at this time by the Duke de Mayenne, whom Philip, in order to prevent him from entering into an accommodation with the King, had entruſted with the chief command.

Mayenne attempts in vain to raiſe the ſiege.

VARIOUS motives concurred on this occaſion to determine Mayenne to exert himſelf with vigour. There was much need of ſome ſplendid inſtance of ſucceſs to ſupport the drooping ſpirits of his party. Laon was the moſt conſiderable town which remained in his poſſeſſion; and, beſides his ſon, and many of his faithful adherents, he had left his moſt valuable effects in it, as in a place where there was little danger of their falling into the hands of the enemy. He loſt no time in marching to its relief. His army conſiſted of nearly the ſame number as that of the King; but being inferior in cavalry, he found it neceſſary to approach the town on that ſide, on which there lay a wood or foreſt, where the enemy's horſe could not be eaſily employed. Henry had penetrated into his deſign, and taken poſſeſſion of the wood with a part of his troops. Mayenne at firſt obliged them to retire; but the royaliſts, having immediately received reinforcement from the camp, returned to the charge, and ſtood their

ground for ſome time with great bravery againſt the Spaniſh veterans. They would have been compelled however to give way a ſecond time, if the royal cavalry, which had advanced to their relief, under the Baron [c], now Marſhal de Biron, had not, conformably to their valiant leader's example and command, diſmounted from their horſes, and thrown themſelves into the front of the battle. The King himſelf ſoon after came up with the greateſt part of his army; and, if the ground had permitted it, a general engagement would have enſued; but it allowed only of ſkirmiſhes, which continued with various ſucceſs till the evening; when Mayenne, dreading that the King might ſend his cavalry to attack his rear, drew off his forces to a little diſtance from the wood.

ALTHOUGH the nature of the ground in this rencounter prevented the King from availing himſelf of the ſuperiority of his cavalry; yet this ſuperiority proved afterwards of the greateſt uſe. Mayenne being obliged to bring his proviſions through an open country from places at the diſtance of ſeveral miles, the King ſent out his horſe in numerous bodies to intercept his convoys; and, although the Duke attempted to bring them under a ſtrong guard in the night,

[c] His father had been lately killed at the ſiege of Epernay.

ſometimes

BOOK XXIII. 1594.

ſometimes from one place, and ſometimes from another; yet ſuch was the vigilance of the Duke de Longueville, and the Marſhal de Biron, to whom the King gave the charge of intercepting them, that almoſt none of them were ſuffered to eſcape. Theſe bold adventurous leaders were continually in motion. No guards which Mayenne could ſpare were able to withſtand their vigorous attack, and his army was at laſt reduced to ſo great diſtreſs, as made it neceſſary for him to decamp. He was ſenſible how difficult he muſt find it to retire in the face of a ſuperior army; but if he remained any longer in his preſent ſituation, his troops, he perceived, muſt either periſh for want, or lay down their arms.

His maſterly retreat.

THE Duke had hitherto been unfortunate in his enterpriſes, and his misfortunes had contributed to obſcure his fame; but, on this occaſion he gave a conſpicuous proof of conſummate military ſkill, as well as of the moſt unqueſtionable perſonal courage and reſolution. His troops, drawn up in the moſt maſterly manner, were every where ſo well prepared to receive the enemy, that the King, who attacked him with his cavalry, as ſoon as they began their march, found it utterly impracticable to penetrate their ranks, whilſt Mayenne himſelf marched on foot in the rear, fought on

ſome

ſome occaſions as a common ſoldier, and, by the graceſulneſs of his perſon, added to the fortitude which he diſplayed, commanded univerſal admiration. In this manner he advanced ſlowly, till he reached a narrow defile, where he had planted ſome batteries of cannon; from the dread of which, the King ordered his troops to halt, and ſuffered the Duke to purſue his march to La Fere without any farther moleſtation.

Laon ſurrenders.

HENRY then reſumed his operations before the town. The beſieged, though deprived of all hopes of relief, perſiſted for ſome time in their defence; but at laſt, finding their numbers greatly diminiſhed, they offered to ſurrender, on condition that the garriſon and the Count of Somerive ſhould be allowed to march out with the honours of war; and to this condition the King readily conſented, from his deſire of preventing bloodſhed, and ſaving the fortifications of the town. The capitulation was ſigned on the twenty-ſecond of July. The terms of it were religiouſly fulfilled; and Henry, far from diſcovering ill-humour or reſentment for the oppoſition which he had met with, embraced with pleaſure the preſent opportunity of teſtifying his eſteem for the Duke de Mayenne, by ſhewing particular marks of reſpect and kindneſs to his ſon.

So

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1594. Submiſſion of the Duke of Guiſe.

So much goodneſs, united with ſo much heroiſm and magnanimity, had charms in the eyes of Henry's enemies that were irreſiſtible. The reduction of Laon, and his generous treatment of the inhabitants and garriſon, were quickly followed by the voluntary ſurrender of Chateau-Thiery, Amiens, and Cambray. The Duke of Lorrain, who from the beginning had given his aſſiſtance to the League, choſe now to be at peace with a Prince, in whoſe favour fortune, and his own merits, had produced ſo remarkable a revolution. And the Duke of Guiſe, whom the Spaniards had tantalized with a glimpſe of royalty, but had afterwards neglected, moved partly by this conſideration, and partly by his admiration of the King, entered into a treaty of reconciliation with him; and having delivered to him the towns of Rheims, Vitry, Rocroix, and ſeveral other places in Champaigne, he was rewarded by Henry with the government of Provence [f].

Siege of Groningen by Prince Maurice.

DURING the courſe of theſe events, ſo adverſe to Philip's views in France, Prince Maurice was engaged in the moſt important enterpriſe which he had hitherto undertaken, the ſiege of Groningen. That city, though almoſt

[f] D'Avila, lib. xiv. Thuanus, lib. ci. Meteren, lib. xiii. Bentivoglio, ann. 1594. Sully's Memoirs, lib. vi.

ſurrounded

ſurrounded with the territories of the States, had been preſerved till now in its allegiance to Philip, by Verdugo, a Spaniſh officer of great abilities, with whoſe aſſiſtance the Catholic part of the inhabitants had been able to keep the Proteſtants under ſubjection. Jealous however of their liberty, they had never conſented to admit any Spaniſh garriſon within their walls, but three thouſand of the citizens, trained to the uſe of arms, had been inliſted in the King's ſervice for the defence of the town, while nine hundred of his foreign troops were permitted to take up their quarters in the ſuburbs. 1594.

MAURICE had long meditated the reduction of Groningen, not only becauſe it would be of itſelf an acquiſition of great value to the confederacy, but becauſe it was the only place of conſequence in thoſe parts under the Spaniſh dominion, and furniſhed an eaſy entrance to the Spaniards into the northern provinces. Much pains had been taken, and great exertions made by Verdugo for its ſecurity. Many bloody rencounters had paſſed between him and the forces of the States, in which, from the ſmallneſs of his numbers, and not from the want either of bravery or conduct, he was generally unſucceſsful; and Maurice, powerfully

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powerfully ſeconded in all his operations by his couſin Count William of Naſſau, had at length reduced Verdugo to the neceſſity of quitting the province, and had made himſelf maſter of almoſt every paſs by which the citizens could receive aſſiſtance or ſupplies.

They had not neglected to inform the Archduke of the imminent danger to which they were expoſed. At their requeſt, the Emperor of Germany had tranſmitted to Philip a repreſentation, importing, that although they deſired nothing ſo much as to maintain their allegiance, and had preſerved it long amidſt much greater hardſhips and difficulties than any of his other ſubjects had endured, yet if the army were not immediately ſent to their aſſiſtance, they would ſoon find it neceſſary to open their gates to the enemy. Philip, far from diſregarding their application, made them the moſt gracious and flattering reply; and ſent orders to the Archduke to poſtpone every other object in the Netherlands to the relief of Groningen. But the greateſt part of his forces were at this time engaged in the war in Picardy; and the remainder having mutinied againſt their officers, on account of their want of pay, refuſed to obey the Governor's commands.

PRINCE

PRINCE Maurice therefore applied to the profecution of the ſiege, with very little apprehenſion of meeting with any interruption from the Spaniards, although, agreeably to his uſual cautious maxims, he fortified not only his quarters, but likewiſe the ſeveral paſſes which led to them from the ſouthern provinces. By beginning to open his trenches at a diſtance from the town, the ſiege was ſomewhat retarded, but he thereby prevented the loſs of men which would otherwiſe have been ſuſtained. On the third of June his batteries were unmaſked, and ſoon afterwards all the outworks were laid in ruins. The beſieged, alarmed with the rapidity of his progreſs, called the foreign troops, which were quartered in the ſuburbs, to their aſſiſtance. The defence was conducted for ſeveral weeks with the higheſt ſpirit and intrepidity, and much blood was ſpilt. But, Maurice having blown up a ravelin, which was one of the principal defences of the place, the courage of the inhabitants began to fail, and there was nothing to be heard but complaints of the ingratitude of the King, in thus abandoning to their enterpriſing enemy a people ſo diſtinguiſhed for their attachment and fidelity. 1594.

THEIR chief magiſtrate, Van Balen, who had long been ſecretly averſe to the Spaniſh government, improved with great dexterity the oppor-

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tunity which their preſent temper afforded him. He ſtudied to confirm them in their ſentiments of the King's ingratitude: he repreſented to them the folly of flattering themſelves with the hopes of relief from a Prince, who was more intent upon conquering the dominions of others, than providing for the ſecurity of his own. He painted in ſtrong colours the miſeries which they muſt ſuffer, if either the ſiege were to be prolonged, or the town to be taken by aſſault; and, by expatiating on the advantages which would accrue to them from acceding to the union of Utrecht, he endeavoured to make them ſenſible, that if freedom from a foreign yoke was an object to be deſired, it was infinitely more for their intereſt to ſubmit to the generous enemy, who now beſieged them, than even to be delivered from the ſiege.

THESE exhortations made the deſired impreſſion even upon the minds of thoſe who were moſt attached to the Catholic religion. That attachment had been long their only tie to the Spaniſh government; and it was overcome at this time by their indignation on account of Philip's negligence in providing for their defence, joined to their deſire of participating of that civil liberty, which had proved the ſource of ſo much proſperity and happineſs to the confederated provinces.

A DE-

A DEPUTATION of the principal inhabitants was ſent to treat of a ſurrender; and the Prince, without heſitation, granted them the moſt advantageous terms. The city of Groningen was declared to be henceforth a member of the union of Utrecht. All the exemptions and ancient privileges of the inhabitants were confirmed; the civil government of the place was allowed to remain on the ſame footing as before, and liberty of conſcience was eſtabliſhed, with this reſtriction, that no other religion but the reformed ſhould be publicly exerciſed. The citizens, on the other hand, engaged to acknowledge the ſupreme authority of the States; to ſubmit to the general laws of the union; to contribute their ſhare of the public expences; and to admit ſuch a garriſon into the town as the States ſhould judge neceſſary for its ſecurity. The foreign ſoldiers were permitted to depart with their arms and baggage. The capitulation was ſigned on the 23d of July; and on the ſame day Prince Maurice entered the town. He remained in it for ſome time till certain articles of the capitulation were executed, after which, having committed the government to his kinſman, Count William of Naſſau, he ſet out for the Hague[s].

1594. Groningen united to the confederacy.

[s] Meteren, lib. xvii. [t] Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. i. Grotius, lib. iii.

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1594. Mutiny of the Spaniſh and Italian ſoldiers.

WHILE Philip's power ſuffered ſo great a diminution in the northern provinces, his affairs in Brabant were daily more and more involved in diſorder and confuſion. The Archduke had, with the utmoſt difficulty, raiſed money to ſatisfy the Walloon and Spaniſh mutineers; but no ſooner had theſe men returned to their duty, than the Italians, to whom the ſame arrears were due, reſolved to employ the ſame means to effectuate their payment. Many of the officers concurred with the private men in forming this reſolution, and they put it inſtantly in execution, by ſeizing on the town of Sichen, where a part of their number had been ſtationed. They were joined by ſoldiers from all the garriſons in the neighbourhood, who continued flocking to them, till they amounted to two thouſand horſe and foot.

The mutineers protected by Maurice.

NOT ſatisfied with laying the country round the town under contribution, they ſpread themſelves over the province, made excurſions to the very gates of Bruſſels, where the Governor reſided, and plundered the people with as much cruelty as if they had been engaged in open war. The Governor having tried the power of perſuaſion without effect, reſolved to employ force to reduce them; and for this purpoſe he ſent the Spaniſh troops which he had lately pacified, under Lewis de Velaſco, to beſiege Sichen

Sichen. In the beginning of this ſedition, Prince Maurice had made the mutineers an offer of ſhelter and protection in the territories of the States, and they readily agreed to accept this offer in caſe they ſhould find it neceſſary; but informed him, that they would defend themſelves in Sichen as long as they were able, againſt the Spaniards. They accordingly did ſo, and made ſeveral deſperate ſallies, in which many on both ſides were ſlain. Finding however that the place was too weak to be long defended againſt an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number, they retired under the fortifications of Breda and San Gertrudenberg, where proviſions were ſold to them by the ſubjects of the States. The intention of Maurice in this ſingular treatment of an enemy, was only to prolong the term of their diſobedience. He made no attempt to perſuade them to enter into the ſervice of the confederacy, but gave permiſſion to the Archduke to ſend an ambaſſador to treat with them; and when, after a tedious negociation, they had agreed to take up their quarters in Tirlemont, and to remain there till their demands were ſatisfied, without renewing their hoſtilities, Maurice readily allowed them to depart. They required a Spaniſh nobleman to be given as a hoſtage for the fulfilment of the Governor's promiſes; and ſo great was the diſorder of the King's finances at this period,

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His motive.

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that theſe troops were ſuffered to remain inactive at Tirlemont for near a year before their arrears were paid[h].

Death of Erneſt.

BEFORE the expiration of this term, the Governor was ſeized with a hectic fever, of which he died on the twentieth of February, in the forty-ſecond year of his age. - He named the Count of Fuentes for his ſucceſſor, and his choice was ſoon after ratified by the King. This nobleman, having been ſent into the Netherlands a little before the death of the Duke of Parma, had, agreeably to Philip's inſtructions, during the government of Count Manſveldt and the Archduke, poſſeſſed a principal ſhare in the adminiſtration. By his advice, or more properly by his authority, Count Manſveldt had publiſhed a barbarous edict, commanding all priſoners to be put to death; and ordering the King's troops, who, in their excurſions into the territories of the States, had been ſatisfied, for ſeveral years paſt with levying contributions, henceforth to lay waſte the country with fire and ſword.

Fuentes named Governor.

THE States, in return, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they expreſſed their abhorrence of this

[h] Grotius, lib. iii. Meteren, lib. xvii. p. 581. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. i.

barbarity;

barbarity; but at the ſame time declared, that if the Governor did not recal his edict againſt a certain time, they would retaliate the cruelty which it preſcribed upon the troops and ſubjects of the King. This meaſure had been urged by Fuentes, on the pretence of ſhortening the duration of the war, although the experience of his kinſman, the Duke of Alva, might have convinced him, that, conſidering the ſtrength to which the confederacy had attained, it would ſerve only to increaſe the calamities of the war, and to render it perpetual. Count Manſveldt came ſoon to be ſenſible, that theſe muſt be the conſequences, and either revoked his edict, or gave orders to prevent it from being carried into execution. BOOK XXIII. 1594.

FUENTES however ſtill continued to exerciſe an unlimited influence in the government. The Flemiſh nobility complained bitterly, as in the time of Cardinal Granvelle, of the inſignificance to which they were reduced, and before the death of the Archduke they had given ſome ſtriking proofs of their diſcontent. This diſcontent was greatly heightened when the Count was appointed Governor; they ſaw then how little ſincerity there had been in thoſe ſoothing promiſes which the King had made them ſome years before, when they conſented to the return of the foreign troops. They perceived Diſcontents of the Flemiſh nobles.

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how little truſt and confidence he repoſed in them, and were ſenſible at laſt of the truth of what the Prince of Orange had ſo often told them, that, by their agreement with the Duke of Parma, they would reduce their country to the miſerable ſtate of a province of Spain. The Duke d'Arſchot and Count Charles of Manſveldt, who had reaſon to expect to have been preferred before Fuentes, would not ſubmit to the indignity put upon them, but reſigned their employments, and left the Netherlands. The Duke d'Arſchot died afterwards in Venice, and Count Manſveldt in Hungary, where he commanded the Emperor's army againſt the Turks.

Vigorous conduct of Fuentes.

FUENTES in the mean time entered upon the exerciſe of his office, and, notwithſtanding the prejudices which the Flemings ſeem juſtly to have entertained againſt him, he ſoon diſcovered that his abilities were not unequal to the charge with which he was inveſted. He applied with great ſucceſs to quell the mutinous ſpirit of the army, and in a few months put it upon a much more reſpectable footing, both as to diſcipline and numbers.

Declaration of war between France and Spain.

PHILIP had greater occaſion now than ever for abilities and vigour in the perſon to whom he committed the government of the Netherlands,

lands. The league in France was about to expire, notwithſtanding his exertions to prevent it; and the French monarch, being firmly ſeated on his throne, declared war againſt him, prohibiting all commerce with his ſubjects, and granting liberty to the French to invade and plunder, and take poſſeſſion of whatever dominions belonged to the crown of Spain. BOOK XXIII. 1595.

This meaſure was condemned by many, as being highly inexpedient at the preſent juncture, on account of the exhauſted ſtate to which his kingdom was reduced by the long continuance of the civil wars, and no perſon was more ſenſible of the ſtrength of this objection than the King himſelf; but he believed that, in the preſent temper of the Catholic King, peace could not be obtained from him upon honourable terms. He was perſuaded that war with the Spaniards muſt of neceſſity continue ſome time longer; and he thought, that as nothing would contribute more to extinguiſh the flames of civil diſcord than a foreign war, it would be eaſier to intereſt his Catholic ſubjects in the proſecution of it, if it were regarded as a war between the crowns, to which political motives had given birth, than if it were ſuffered to remain on its preſent footing, and conſidered as carried on by Philip for the ſake of religion. It is not indeed improbable, that perſonal Henry's motives.

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animoſity added force to theſe incitements. Philip had ever treated Henry in the moſt contemptuous manner; and, under the maſk of religon, had endeavoured firſt to exclude him, and afterwards to expel him from the throne. Henry deteſted that artifice and duplicity in Philip's character, of which, in his late attempt to procure the abolition of the Salic law, he had given ſuch inconteſtible evidence; and the terms in which his declaration of war was expreſſed, demonſtrate, that reſentment had, on the preſent occaſion, a conſiderable influence on his conduct.

PHILIP'S anſwer to this declaration was perfectly conformable to his character. All his interferences in the affairs of France had proceeded, he ſaid, from his concern for the proſperity of the people, and the ſecurity of the Catholic faith; and he declared, that his intention now was not to enter into war with the crown or nation of France, but only to perſevere in protecting the true Catholics of that kingdom from the oppreſſion of the Prince of Bearn and his adherents[i].

Proſecution of the war.

BOTH Kings had been employed, before their declaration of war, in preparing for the recom-

[i] D'Avila, lib. xiv.

mencement

mencement of hoſtilities; and Henry, beſides his domeſtic preparations, had entered into a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive with the United Provinces. Agreeably to an article of this treaty, the States ſent a body of horſe and foot, under Philip, Count of Naſſau, to invade the province of Luxemburg. Their enterpriſes were for ſome time attended with ſucceſs; but Fuentes, having diſpatched the brave Verdugo with ſuperior forces to oppoſe them, they were obliged, after ſeveral rencounters, to quit the province; and were ſoon after recalled, and ſtationed near the frontier of Brabant, where it was expected they would be of equal ſervice to the French monarch, by detaining the Spaniards in the Netherlands. 1595.

Siege of Catelet.

THE army of the States, however, even after it was joined by theſe troops, was not able to furniſh full employment to thoſe which the Governor had prepared. He left an army under Mondragone to check the progreſs of Prince Maurice, and ſet out himſelf for Picardy with the reſt of his forces. His firſt enterpriſe was the ſiege of Catelet, of which he made himſelf maſter in a few weeks, though it was ſtrongly fortified, and bravely defended by the garriſon.

Affairs of Gomeron and d'Orvilliers.

DURING this ſiege, Fuentes had reaſon to flatter himſelf with the hopes of acquiring poſ-

BOOK XXIII. 1595.

ſeſſion of the caſtle and town of Ham without bloodſhed. The caſtle was held by an officer called d'Orvilliers, and the town by his half-brother, whoſe name was Gomeron. Theſe two men had been violent partizans of the league, and the latter reſolved to deliver the town to the Spaniards rather than to the King of France, but he demanded from Fuentes a reward of twenty thouſand crowns for the town, and a ſtill higher reward, if he ſhould prevail upon his brother (which he engaged to do) to deliver up the caſtle. The Count readily agreed to theſe terms, and paid him the twenty thouſand crowns upon his admitting a thouſand Spaniſh troops into the town; but required Gomeron himſelf and his two younger brothers to remain with him as hoſtages, till the caſtle likewiſe ſhould be put into his poſſeſſion. To this Gomeron conſented, from a fond perſuaſion that his brother would imitate his example, rather than expoſe *him* and his other brothers to the reſentment of the Spaniards, eſpecially as their mother was in the caſtle, whoſe intreaties he expected d'Orvilliers would be unable to reſiſt. But d'Orvilliers choſe rather to abandon his brothers to their fate, than betray his charge to the enemies of his country; and he admitted the Duke de Bouillon into the caſtle, with a numerous body of the King's troops, who attacked the Spaniards,

niards in the town, and either put them to the sword or took them prisoners. The mother of Gomeron, now trembling with anxiety for her children's preservation, came to Fuentes, and represented, that d'Orvilliers repented of what he had done, and was willing to deliver the castle to him, if he would come himself with his army to receive it. The Count, believing her representation to be true, the more readily as she herself seemed entirely convinced of the truth of it, advanced with his forces towards Ham; but finding that the mother had been deceived, and that, in order to avoid her importunity, d'Orvilliers had left the place, and resigned his government to another, he was inflamed with rage, and put Gomeron to death in presence of the army. This unhappy man did not perhaps deserve so severe a punishment from the hands of Fuentes; but it was due to the treachery and egregious folly into which his avarice had betrayed him [k].

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Siege of Dourlens.

From Ham the Count conducted his troops, after they had rested some days, to lay siege to Dourlens. This town being near the frontier of the Netherlands, was strongly fortified and garrisoned by a considerable number of select troops. Still however it was necessary, in or-

[k] Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. ii.

der

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der to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands, that the garriſon ſhould be augmented: and no ſooner had the Marſhals Bouillon and Villars, whom the King had ſent to watch the motions of the Spaniſh army, heard that Dourlens was inveſted, than they aſſembled all the troops in the neighbourhood, amounting to a thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, and advanced towards the town, in hopes of being able to force their way through the enemy's entrenchments; but Fuentes having received intelligence of their deſign, left a part of his forces to guard his trenches, and marched out with the reſt, in order of battle, to an advantageous ſituation at a little diſtance from the town. When the Duke of Bouillon obſerved Fuentes ſo well prepared for his defence, he counſelled Marſhal Villars to retire; but that intrepid General, whoſe courage was ever too ardent and impetuous, refuſed to comply, and ſtill continued to advance, till his troops were almoſt ſurrounded by the Spaniards. A deſperate and bloody battle enſued; in which, from their great inferiority in reſpect of number, the French were almoſt entirely cut to pieces, Villars himſelf was ſlain, and the cavalry, after great loſs, were obliged to retire.

During the combat, the garriſon ſallied out upon the troops which had been left to defend the

the camp and trenches; but through the wiſe precaution which had been taken, the Spaniards proved victorious; and Fuentes reſumed, with freſh ſpirit and vigour, the operations of the ſiege. Among the beſieged there were more than three hundred gentlemen, who inſpired the garriſon with the ſame generous ſpirit by which they themſelves were actuated, and defended the town ſeveral days with extraordinary courage and reſolution. But their ſkill and conduct were not equal to the bravery which they diſplayed. In an aſſault on the thirty-firſt of July they were overpowered by the aſſailants, and almoſt the whole garriſon, amounting to more than a thouſand men, with their Governor the Count of Dinan, were put to the ſword. BOOK XXIII. 1595.

Fuentes, emboldened by his ſucceſs, reſolved next to lay ſiege to Cambray; the reduction of which was the principal object of his preſent expedition. Siege of Cambray.

This important city had been wreſted from the Spaniards, as is above related, by the Duke of Anjou; and Anjou had bequeathed it to his mother Catharine of Medicis, by whom a French gentleman of the name of Balagnay had been appointed Governor both of the town and citadel. Balagny, taking advantage of the troubles

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troubles in France, had for ſeveral years acknowledged no ſuperior; and as he had ſtudied to maintain ſome degree of neutrality between the contending parties, he had been ſuffered to act as ſovereign both of the city and its territory. But apprehending, after the diſcomfiture of the League, that it was neceſſary for him to make a choice either of the King of France or Spain for his protector, he agreed to acknowledge his dependence on the French monarch, on condition, that he ſhould be permitted to enjoy under him poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, with the title of the Prince of Cambray; and to theſe terms Henry the more readily conſented, as he dreaded that, if he rejected them, they would be granted by the King of Spain.

BALAGNY, being thus confirmed in his poſſeſſion, ſpared no expence or pains in ſtrengthening the fortifications of the place. The garriſon amounted to three thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, the greateſt part of which were French troops of the moſt unqueſtionable bravery. The town was ſtrong, and it was well furniſhed with military ſtores and proviſions.

DETERMINED by theſe conſiderations, ſome of the principal officers in the Spaniſh army endea-

endeavoured to perſuade the Count de Fuentes to relinquiſh his deſign, by repreſenting, that before he could accompliſh it, either the winter ſeaſon would overtake him, or the French monarch, being diſengaged from his enemies in other quarters, would arrive with a ſuperior army, and attack him after his troops were diminiſhing in number, and exhauſted with the operations of the ſiege; but Fuentes, ambitious to diſtinguiſh his adminiſtration by ſo important an acquiſition, and elated by the ſucceſs with which his enterpriſes had been hitherto attended, refuſed to liſten to theſe remonſtrances; and, having received a great augmentation of forces from the neighbouring provinces, he began his operations without delay. They were carried on with a degree of ſkill and vigour which would have reflected honour on the greateſt generals of the age; and notwithſtanding the moſt intrepid defence, conducted with much prudence by the celebrated de Vic, whom Henry had ſent with a reinforcement of troops to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged, the Count opened his batteries in a few weeks ſo near the town, that ſome of its principal defences were deſtroyed, and a great part of the wall was laid in ruins. Still however his ſucceſs was doubtful. He encountered the moſt diſcouraging difficulties in furniſhing his troops with proviſions; and nothing

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but the moſt unconquerable reſolution, added to the dread of tarniſhing the glory which he had already acquired, could have prevented him from abandoning his attempt.

Cambray given up by the citizens.

BUT he was ſaved from that mortification, by the inhabitants of the town, who having been long accuſtomed to the mild adminiſtration of their Archbiſhops, had borne with extreme impatience the haughty imperious behaviour of Balagny; and had been almoſt reduced to deſpair, by the extortion, rapine, and inſolence of his wife, by whom he ſuffered himſelf to be entirely governed. The citizens had ſecretly ſent a deputation of their number to the French monarch, intreating him to deliver them from the yoke of their oppreſſor, and offering on that condition to ſubmit to his authority, and to receive a garriſon of his troops. But through the influence of the famous Gabrielle d'Etrées, whom Balagny had gained over to his intereſt, Henry not only refuſed to comply with their requeſt, but confirmed Balagny in his uſurped authority.

THE inhabitants, inflamed now with reſentment againſt the King, as well as againſt Balagny, reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of putting themſelves under the dominion of their former maſter the King of Spain; and they

they were confirmed in their reſolution, by the numerous eccleſiaſtics in the town, who hoped by this meaſure to effectuate the re-eſtabliſhment of the Archbiſhop, whom Balagny had expelled. Having formed their plan, they delayed the execution of it, till Balagny and De Vic were wholly occupied in taking meaſures againſt an aſſault, which they believed to be intended by the Spaniards. At that time they ran to arms, and made themſelves maſters of one of the gates of the city. De Vic, Balagny, and his wife, ſpared no pains to divert them from their purpoſe, but all their endeavours proved ineffectual. Two of the principal citizens were immediately ſent to Fuentes, with an offer to ſurrender the town on the following conditions, to which he readily agreed: That the ſoldiers ſhould be reſtrained from plunder: That all paſt offences ſhould be forgiven: That the citizens ſhould enjoy their wonted privileges, and the Archbiſhop be reſtored to his ancient juriſdiction and authority. BOOK XXIII. 1595.

THE garriſon immediately retired into the citadel, where they expected to have been able to defend themſelves for a conſiderable time. But having found, upon ſearching the magazines, that there was hardly proviſions enough to ſupport them for three days, they agreed on the firſt ſummons to capitulate. The wife of

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Balagny had reduced them to this neceſſity; by ſelling, at an exorbitant price, without her huſband's knowledge, the proviſions which had been laid up in ſtore.

During the ſiege, this woman had diſcovered a degree of ſpirit, capacity, and courage, above her ſex; but being unable to bear the conſciouſneſs of that egregious folly into which her avarice had betrayed her, and which was now attended with conſequences ſo fatal to her ambition, ſhe was overwhelmed with anguiſh and deſpair; and refuſing to take either medicine or food, ſhe died miſerably, before the citadel was delivered to the Spaniards.

The capitulation was ſigned on the ſeventh of October, and the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war upon the ninth; immediately after which, Fuentes having ſtationed five hundred Spaniards in the citadel, and two thouſand Germans in the town, ſet out for the Netherlands with the reſt of his forces, and put them into winter-quarters in Flanders, Artois, and Hainault[1].

Affairs in Burgundy.

The reader will not ſuppoſe that the active ſpirit of the French monarch could be unemployed during the courſe of theſe diſaſtrous

[1] D'Avila, lib. xv. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. ii.

events.

events. He was deeply affected by the loſs of the important towns which had been conquered by Fuentes, and would have marched in perſon to their relief, had he not believed that his preſence was ſtill more neceſſary in another part of his dominions. For Philip having reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour in different quarters at the ſame time, had ordered Velaſco, the Conſtable of Caſtile and Governor of Milan, to lead an army of ten thouſand men into Burgundy; and theſe troops were, upon their arrival in Franche Compté, joined by the Duke de Mayenne with a thouſand foot and four hundred horſe. This army was greatly ſuperior to any which Marſhal Biron, who commanded in theſe parts, could aſſemble to oppoſe it; and Henry dreaded that the province of Burgundy would be ſpeedily over-run. Having therefore ſent orders to his troops in different parts to follow him, he ſet out himſelf at the head of one thouſand eight hundred horſe and foot, with an intention to harraſs the enemy, till the reſt of his army ſhould arrive.

THE Spaniards had paſſed the Saone, and advanced as far as Fontaine-Françoiſe, when Henry attacked them on their march, with a degree of impetuoſity and ardor that filled Velaſco with aſtoniſhment. The King was

Battle of Fontaine-Françoiſe.

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bravely ſupported on this occaſion by the Marquis de Mirebeau, the Count de Gramont, and ſeveral others of his nobility; but above all, by the intrepid Biron, who fought long after he was covered with the blood that flowed from a wound which he had received in the beginning of the engagement. The King, by his exhortations, and ſtill more by his example, inflamed his troops to a degree of madneſs. At the head of his ſquadrons, he plunged ſword in hand into the midſt of the enemy, broke through their ranks, and threw their van into confuſion.

HAD Velaſco ordered his whole army to advance, it is impoſſible but Henry muſt have been ſurrounded and overpowered. But his courage on this occaſion ſupplied the want both of caution and of numbers. Velaſco, intimidated by the unexampled boldneſs which he had ſeen diſplayed, gave orders for a retreat, and left the King in poſſeſſion of the field of battle. Early next morning he repaſſed the Saone, notwithſtanding the earneſt remonſtrances of the Duke de Mayenne, who had procured certain intelligence of the ſtrength of the enemy. Mayenne then intreated Velaſco to leave him a part of the forces to raiſe the ſiege of Dijon, which had been inveſted by a party of the royaliſts, and to

to enable him to defend ſuch other towns on this ſide of the river as were ſtill in his poſſeſſion. But this likewiſe the Spaniſh General refuſed, and continued to retire till he reached the town of Gray; where he fortified his camp in the ſtrongeſt manner, with a reſolution to act only on the defenſive, in caſe the royal army ſhould advance.

Reconcilement of Mayenne with the King.

VELASCO, who was utterly unpractiſed in the military art, appears to have been ſtrongly actuated with a dread of the ſuperior ſkill and bravery of the King. But the Duke de Mayenne likewiſe perceived, in his conduct towards *him*, on this occaſion, manifeſt ſymptoms of diffidence and diſtruſt. This the Duke could not help attributing to Velaſco's inſtructions from the Court of Spain; and he could not doubt, that through the ill offices of the Spaniſh miniſters in France, Philip had conceived ſome freſh jealouſy of his deſigns. He was therefore thrown into great perplexity, while he believed that he ſhould ere long be abandoned by the Spaniards, as he had already been by moſt of his adherents in France; and could hardly ſuppoſe that now, when his power was reduced ſo low, he would be able to obtain advantageous conditions from the King. After long deliberation, he formed the reſolution of going to Madrid, to juſtify his conduct

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to Philip againſt the miſrepreſentations of his miniſters. But he was ſaved from that fatal ſtep, by the invincible goodneſs of the French monarch, who, having been informed of his diſtreſs, ſent Lignerac, a friend and confident of the Duke, to aſſure him of his eſteem, and to inform him, that he was ſtill ready to receive him into favour, and to grant him the moſt honourable terms.

HENRY did not require an immediate ſubmiſſion from him, becauſe the Duke had often declared, that he would never acknowledge his authority till the Pope ſhould grant him abſolution; but he deſired that he ſhould retire to Chalons, one of his own towns, and wait there for that event, in full confidence that no advantage ſhould be taken in the mean time, either of himſelf or his adherents.

MAYENNE, who knew with how much ſafety he might rely on Henry's promiſe, and was deeply penetrated with a ſenſe of the generous offer which had been made to him, accepted of it without heſitation, and left the Spaniſh camp.

SOON after this agreement, Henry advanced to the banks of the Saone, with a reſolution to tranſport his forces, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, into Franche Compté,

Compté, where Velaſco lay intrenched. In ſpite of the troops which had been planted to diſpute his paſſage, he forded the river about three miles below the town of Gray, and then led his army towards the enemy; but finding their intrenchments too ſtrongly fortified to be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs, he turned aſide, and began to lay waſte the country, or to levy contributions from the inhabitants. Velaſco remained ſtill within his camp. At length the Swiſs Cantons, as friends and protectors of the people of Franche Compté, interpoſed their influence. At their deſire, the King readily deſiſted from his depredations; and having led back his troops into his own dominions, he reſolved to march as ſoon as poſſible to the frontiers of the Netherlands,

The Pope grants Henry abſolution.

He was in daily expectation, at this time, of receiving the Pope's abſolution, which had been much longer delayed than he expected, through the violent oppoſition of the Spaniſh miniſters at Rome; but Clement, now perceiving that Henry was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, and dreading that by a longer delay he might exhauſt his patience, and provoke him to throw off his allegiance to the Holy See, reſolved to run the riſk of giving offence to Philip, and on the 16th of September pronounced the ſentence of abſolution. This

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vent gave inexpreſſible joy to all the true Catholics of France; and the treaty of agreement which had been begun with the Duke de Mayenne, was ſoon after brought to the deſired concluſion. Such other members of the League as had not already ſubmitted, imitated the example of their leader. Internal peace was every where eſtabliſhed, and Henry had leiſure to apply his whole attention to the Spaniſh war[m].

Affairs of the Netherlands.

THE tranſactions in the Netherlands this year were leſs important and intereſting than in any former campaign ſince the commencement of the war, which was principally owing to the Governor's prudent choice of the vigilant, experienced Mondragone, as commander in chief of the forces during his abſence. About the middle of July, Prince Maurice beſieged the town of Groll; but Mondragone, having augmented his army, by making draughts from the garriſons of the neighbouring towns, advanced towards him with ſo much celerity, that not having had time to complete his entrenchments, Maurice was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The two armies lay long in ſight of

[m] D'Avila, lib. xiv. Thuanus, anno 1595. Pereſixe; Elzevir, p. 230, &c.

each

each other; and as they were nearly equal in strength, and both Generals exerted an equal degree of vigilance and circumspection, they effectually prevented one another from undertaking any important enterprise. BOOK XXIII. 1595.

THERE were frequent skirmishes with various success; but the only one which deserves to be mentioned was a rencounter near the river Lippe, where Maurice ordered Count Philip de Nassau, with five hundred horse, to lie in ambush in a wood, to intercept a party of the enemy which had been sent out for provisions. Of this Mondragone had received intelligence, and with great secrecy stationed a body of horse still more numerous in another wood, at a little distance from the first. When the Spanish foragers arrived at the ambuscade, they were attacked on every side, and repulsed with considerable slaughter; but being speedily reinforced by their friends in the neighbouring woods, they returned to the charge. The Dutch troops, astonished to find themselves caught in their own snare, were at last overpowered by numbers; three hundred of them, with their commander, were killed, and the rest obliged to save themselves by flight.

THIS was the last memorable event of the campaign, although the two Generals remained in Death of Mondragone.

BOOK XXIII. 1595. in ſight of each other till the end of October, when they broke up their camps, and put their troops into winter-quarters; and Mondragone died not long after at the age of ninety-two, having to the laſt preſerved ſufficient vigour to fulfil, with diſtinguiſhed reputation, all the duties of a Commander. He had ſerved in the Netherlands near fifty years, and had a principal ſhare in almoſt every military enterpriſe, yet he had the ſingular fortune to eſcape without a wound [n].

n Grotius, lib. iv. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. ii.

During the courſe of the tranſactions recorded in this book, the Dutch performed their firſt expedition to India; but as their acquiſitions at this time were inconſiderable, and their moſt important conqueſts over Philip's ſubjects in that diſtant region were not atchieved till ſeveral years after the preſent period, I have reſerved the relation of the whole for the hiſtory of the ſubſequent reign.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XXIV.

FROM the capacity and vigour of which the Count de Fuentes had given ſo many proofs ſince his acceſſion to the government, there was reaſon to expect, that he would have been ſuffered long to retain poſſeſſion of it; but Philip, having from the beginning intended that he ſhould continue governor only for one year, had immediately after the death of Erneſt fixed upon the Cardinal Archduke Albert for his ſucceſſor.

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1595. The Archduke Albert Governor of the Netherlands.

THIS Prince, nephew to Philip, and youngeſt brother to the Emperor, had been intruſted with the Regency of Portugal. By his prudent adminiſtration he had acquired univerſal eſteem;

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eſteem; and Philip, who entertained the higheſt opinion of his abilities, believed that no perſon was better qualified either to proſecute the war with vigour, or by an accommodation to bring it to the deſired concluſion.

He arrived at Bruſſels about the middle of February, one thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſix, having brought with him a reinforcement of Italian and Spaniſh troops, and which was of ſtill greater utility, a ſum of money, amounting to fifteen hundred thouſand crowns [a].

The

[a] Albert likewiſe brought with him, at this time, Philip, eldeſt ſon of the late Prince of Orange, who, as above related, had been ſeized by the Duke of Alva, and ſent to Spain, where he had been educated in the Catholic religion, and detained for almoſt thirty years. By ſetting him at liberty on this occaſion, it is not improbable that the Court of Spain expected to have created ſome diviſion between the Prince and his brother Maurice, that might have proved prejudicial to the United Provinces. But Maurice readily yielded to him all that he poſſeſſed of their father's fortune; and the States, perceiving that the Archduke, beſides reſtoring to him his lands in Brabant and Burgundy, treated him with much eſteem and confidence, refuſed to grant him permiſſion to fix his reſidence within their territories, or even to viſit his kinſmen there, till the year 1608, a ſhort time before the concluſion of the truce with Spain.

He married Eleanor of Bourbon, a daughter of the Prince of Condé; by the intereſt of whoſe friends, he recovered poſſeſſion of the principality of Orange, in the kingdom of France. He lived on amicable terms with his relations in the

THE Count de Fuentes, unwilling to act in a ſubordinate ſtation, in a country where he had enjoyed the chief command, reſigned the government to the Archduke, and ſet out for Spain. BOOK XXIV. 1596.

ALBERT immediately applied himſelf to make the preparations neceſſary for a new campaign; and conformably to his inſtructions from Philip, he turned his principal attention to the war with France. His firſt object was the relief of La Fere in Picardy, which had remained in the hands of the Spaniſh ever ſince it was delivered by the League to the Duke of Parma. Siege of La Fere.

TOWARDS the end of the preceding year, it had been inveſted by the French monarch; but as it was ſtrongly fortified, and the garriſon conſiſted of choſen troops, commanded by Alvaro Oſorio, a Spaniſh officer of diſtinguiſhed reputation, Henry was ſatisfied with blocking it up ſo as to prevent the entrance of ſupplies. This he accompliſhed with little difficulty. The blockade had laſted for ſeveral weeks, and

the Netherlands, but being ſincere in his profeſſion of the Catholic religion, he ſeems not to have entertained any reſentment for the injurious treatment he had received from the King of Spain: nor does he appear to have poſſeſſed any ſhare of that bold and enterpriſing genius, by which his brothers were ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. He died without iſſue at Bruſſels in the year 1618. Du Maurier.

Oſorio

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Oſorio had conveyed intelligence to the Archduke, that if he was not ſpeedily relieved, the want of proviſions would render it impoſſible for him to hold out for any conſiderable time. The Spaniſh army was aſſembled at Valenciennes, and almoſt ready to begin its march; but the more the Governor and his council of war reflected on the difficulties which muſt attend the attempting to raiſe the ſiege, by marching directly to La Fere, the more inſurmountable they appeared. For they could not, it was obſerved, approach to that town, without leaving behind them St. Quintin, Ham, Guiſe, Peronne, and ſeveral other fortified places, the garriſons of which would haraſs them on their march, break up the roads, and intercept their convoys of proviſions. An impaſſable marſh rendered the town inacceſſible on every ſide, except where the French monarch had ſtrongly fortified his intrenchments. Even if they ſhould come in ſight of the town, yet, before they could enter it, they muſt either attack the enemy within their camp, or engage with their whole army in the open field. They could not attack them in their camp, without expoſing themſelves to almoſt certain ruin; Henry would not give them an opportunity of fighting in the field, unleſs his army, which was increaſing daily, were ſuperior to theirs, and the conſequences of a defeat would prove fatal not only to the army, but to all the Spaniſh

niſh conqueſts in France, and perhaps too to the King's authority in the Netherlands. BOOK XXIV. 1596.

DETERMINED by theſe conſiderations, the Archduke formed the reſolution of beſieging ſome other frontier town of ſufficient importance to induce Henry either to raiſe the ſiege of La Fere, or compenſate for the loſs of that place, in caſe it ſhould be obliged to capitulate.

HE heſitated for ſome time whether he ſhould lead his army againſt St. Quintin or Peronne; but he ſoon laid aſide the thoughts of attacking either of theſe places, and reſolved to undertake the reduction of Calais, which he believed would be an eaſier, as well as a much more important acquiſition. Siege of Calais.

THIS enterpriſe was ſuggeſted to the Governor by the Sieur de Rône, a native of France, and formerly a violent partiſan of the League, who had entered into the ſervice of Spain againſt his King and country. He was a man of a dark intriguing ſpirit, whom no tie could bind but intereſt; but he was bold and active, ſagacious and penetrating, and eminently diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill in the art of war. He had received intelligence that Calais, like many other towns in the kingdom, had been much neglected during the civil war; that although the King had ordered the fortifications of it to be ex- The Sieur de Rône.

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amined, yet his other occupations had not allowed him to beſtow that attention on it which its importance deſerved; and that, as ſome of the works were ruinous, ſo the garriſon was too ſmall to defend a place of ſo great extent. For theſe reaſons, the Governor approved highly of De Rône's propoſal, and he committed the execution of it to himſelf.

In order to prevent the enemy from ſuſpecting what was intended, it was communicated only to two or three of the principal officers; and the Archduke gave out that his deſign was to relieve La Fere. He accordingly began his march towards that place, while De Rône turned ſuddenly to Calais with a body of ſelect troops, and attacked the fort and bridge of Nieulai, which commands the entrance to the town by land. He made himſelf maſter of it with very little difficulty, and then proceeded to attack the fort of Riſbane, which ſtands at the mouth of the harbour, and was of the greateſt importance for the preſervation of the place. The garriſon of this fort made a more vigorous reſiſtance than that of Nieulai; but no ſooner had De Rône opened a battery againſt them, by which only a few were killed, than they were ſeized with a ſudden panic, and offered to capitulate. This rapid progreſs exceeded De Rône's moſt ſanguine expectations, and it gave him the greater joy, as not long after the

Riſbane had ſurrendered, ſome ſhips with troops for the reinforcement of the garriſon, which had arrived from Boulogne, finding the entrance to the harbour in his poſſeſſion, were obliged to return. BOOK XXIV. 1596.

THE Archduke, who was in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, when he received intelligence of this fortunate commencement of his enterpriſe, ſet out immediately with his whole army for Calais, and pitched his camp in ſuch a ſituation as he hoped would prevent the approach of the enemy.

HE firſt attacked the ſuburbs, and took them by aſſault; nor did he encounter greater difficulty in making himſelf maſter of the town. His cannon had hardly begun to play upon it, when Vidoſſan, the Governor, retired with the garriſon into the caſtle; and quickly deſpairing of being able to defend himſelf in it, any better than he had done in the town, he offered to give it up in ſix days, if he was not relieved before the expiration of that time. The Archduke, in order to ſave his troops and the fortifications of the place, readily agreed to this propoſal, never doubting that he was fully able to prevent the entrance of any reinforcement either by ſea or land.

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THE King, in the mean time, heard with much anxiety of the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms. But the blockade of La Fere having continued for ſeveral months, he expected that the garriſon muſt be reduced in a few days to the neceſſity of capitulating; and he thought it probable that, after finiſhing his preſent enterpriſe (which he could not abandon without loſing all the expence and labour which he had beſtowed upon it), he would arrive in time to raiſe the ſiege of Calais. He went himſelf however with a part of his cavalry to Boulogne, that he might be ready to adminiſter ſuch aſſiſtance to the garriſon of Calais, as might enable them to hold out till his whole army ſhould be at liberty to advance to their relief.

Henry attempts in vain to raiſe the ſiege.

UPON his arrival in Boulogne, he was informed of the capitulation above mentioned. He lamented bitterly that he had not brought with him a greater proportion of his troops; but finding it neceſſary to make ſome exertion without delay, he prevailed on Campagnol, the Governor of Boulogne, with three hundred choſen men, to attempt to force his way in the night through the Spaniſh lines.

THIS arduous undertaking was executed without the loſs of a ſingle man; and Campagnol had no ſooner arrived in the caſtle, than

than having read the King's orders to the garrison, he required them all to swear that they would defend the fortress to the last. BOOK XXIV. 1596.

In the evening of the sixth day of the truce, they were summoned to fulfil their engagement; when they replied that they had received the reinforcement which they expected. But it soon appeared how unequal they were to the defence of so weak a place, against so numerous an enemy.

Early next morning De Rône began to play off his batteries, and in a few hours a great part of the wall was laid in ruins.

An Italian regiment, through whose negligence Campagnol had got into the fort, was ordered to advance to the assault, and was followed by the Walloons and Spaniards. The garrison received them in the breach with undaunted courage, and, after an obstinate engagement, in which great numbers fell on both sides, compelled them to retire. But the Italians returned immediately to the charge; and at last, through the great superiority of their numbers, they overpowered the garrison, entered along with them into the fort, and put all of them to the sword, except Campagnol, and a few others, who took refuge in the church, Calais taken by storm.

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and afterwards ſurrendered at diſcretion. In this manner did Calais fall into the hands of the Spaniards in leſs than three weeks after De Rôné had begun the ſiege. The King left Boulogne, after having taken precautions for the preſervation of that place, and returned to La Fere. And the Archduke, after ſtaying eight or ten days in Calais to repair the fortifications, led his troops againſt the town of Ardres.

Siege of Ardres.

THE garriſon of Ardres conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred men, commanded by the Marquis of Belin, the Lieutenant-governor of the province, and by the Sieur de Annebourg, Governor of the town, an officer of diſtinguiſhed courage and capacity. By frequent vigorous ſallies, the operations of the beſiegers were greatly retarded. At length, however, they took the ſuburbs by aſſault, and De Rône began to batter the walls of the town. But conſidering the ſtrength of the place, and the number and bravery of the garriſon, he had little reaſon to hope for ſucceſs before the concluſion of the ſiege of La Fere; when there was no room to doubt that the King would advance without loſs of time to the relief of Ardres.

NOTWITHSTANDING this encouraging circumſtance, the Marquis de Belin called a council

council of war, and urged with great earneſtneſs the neceſſity of capitulating; alleging that it was impoſſible to hold out till the King's arrival, and that the ſooner they ſubmitted they would the more eaſily obtain advantageous terms. This propoſal was rejected with great diſdain by the Sieur de Annebourg, and all the officers in the council. But the cowardly Belin, availing himſelf of that ſuperior authority with which he was inveſted as Lieutenant-governor of the province, capitulated, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, on a condition to which the Archduke readily agreed, that the garriſon ſhould march out with the honours of war. La Fere having ſurrendered on the day immediately preceding, the King had already ſet out for Ardres, and as his army had of late received a conſiderable augmentation, he entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of being able to raiſe the ſiege. When a meſſenger informed him of the ſurrender, he was inflamed with indignation, and ordered Belin to be tried for his life. At the importunity of his friends, he afterwards ſtopped the proſecution; but he baniſhed him from court, and deprived him of his office of Lieutenant-governor of the province [b].

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[b] D'Avila, lib. xv. Bentivoglio, &c. Thuanus, p. 116, lib. viii.

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1596. Albert returns to the Netherlands.

HENRY was now in ſome perplexity with reſpect to his future conduct. He was extremely ſolicitous to recover as ſoon as poſſible the towns which he had loſt; but as his finances were in great diſorder at that time, and Picardy, having been long the ſeat of war, was reduced to the moſt exhauſted condition, he perceived that any enterpriſe ſo tedious as the ſiege of a fortified town, muſt be attended with inſurmountable difficulties. He reſolved therefore, in conformity to the opinion of his nobility, to advance towards the enemy, and to compel them, if poſſible, to give him battle. But the Archduke, whoſe army was greatly diminiſhed by putting garriſons into the conquered towns, had penetrated into his deſign; and being no leſs averſe to an engagement than Henry was deſirous of it, he left France without delay, and put his troops into quarters of cantonment in the province of Artois. The King being thus diſappointed in his hopes of a deciſive action, diſmiſſed the greater part of his army, and leaving the Marſhal Biron with only five or ſix thouſand men to check the excurſions of the Spaniſh garriſons, he returned to Paris, where a great number of important affairs of ſtate required his attention.

He beſieges Hulſt in Flanders.

WHILE the Spaniſh army was employed in proſecuting the war in France, no memorable

event had happened in the Netherlands. This was not owing to any want of activity and vigour on the part of Prince Maurice, but to the extreme weakneſs of his army, which the States, from a deſire of ſaving their ſtrength when they were not expoſed to immediate danger, had reduced ſo low, that when all the garriſons were full, he could not lead into the field more than three thouſand men. With the aſſiſtance of this little army, the garriſons of ſome of the frontier towns had made ſeveral bold incurſions into Flanders and Brabant, and either plundered the country, or laid the inhabitants under contributions. The States of theſe provinces had ardently wiſhed for the return of the Archduke; and they now intreated him to employ his arms in reducing ſome of the places in their neighbourhood, from which they received ſo great annoyance. Albert, who did not intend, by returning ſo early to the Netherlands, to paſs the remainder of the ſeaſon without action, readily complied with their requeſt; and, after deliberating with his council of war, undertook the ſiege of Hulſt in Flanders.

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Maurice had, ſince his conqueſt of that place about five years before, made great additions to its fortifications. He had likewiſe formed the territory on which it ſtands into an

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iſland, by means of two large canals which were drawn around it; and, by building forts on theſe canals, and laying a part of the adjacent country under water, he had rendered the town almoſt inacceſſible.

THIS at leaſt was the opinion of ſome officers whom Albert had ſent to reconnoitre it; but being ambitious to diſtinguiſh the firſt year of his adminiſtration, by performing ſome important ſervice to the people committed to his care, and being excited at the ſame time by De Rône and other adventurous ſpirits, whom no difficulties could deter from any enterpriſe, he perſiſted in his deſign, and proceeded immediately to put it in execution. In order to conceal it as long as poſſible from the enemy, he made a feint of attacking ſome of the towns in Brabant, and this meaſure was attended with the deſired effect. Of five thouſand men who were in garriſon at Hulſt, Prince Maurice ordered two thouſand to reinforce the garriſons of Gertrudenberg and Breda.

ALBERT immediately after turned ſuddenly towards Hulſt, and having prepared a great number of ſmall boats, he ordered two of his principal officers, De la Biche and La Barlotta, to tranſport a part of his forces acroſs the inundation and canals. Theſe men executed their

their commiſſion with great ſecrecy and ſilence in the dead of the night, and encountered difficulties which required the moſt determined reſolution to ſurmount. The tide did not riſe ſo high as they expected, and they were often obliged to leave their boats, and puſh them forwards, whilſt they ſtood up to their knees in mud. When, after much labour and difficulty, they had brought them to the ſide of the canal, they were diſcovered by the garriſons of ſome forts which had been built to obſtruct their approach; but, notwithſtanding the inceſſant fire of theſe forts, they ſtill continued to advance; and having launched their boats in the canal, they at laſt arrived on the other ſide, with the loſs of only a ſmall number of men. Early next morning Count Solmes, the Governor of Hulſt, attacked them before they had time to entrench themſelves. A bloody combat enſued, in which one regiment of the aſſailants were routed, and their commander killed. But the reſt reflecting on their deſperate ſituation, from which it was impoſſible to eſcape, advanced with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, and, after much bloodſhed, compelled the garriſon to take ſhelter in the town.

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Prince Maurice no ſooner heard of what had happened, than he ſet out with all the forces which he could collect, hoping to be able

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able to drive the Spaniards from the iſland, before their number was increaſed. But the Archduke advanced with greater expedition, and prevented his approach. It was ſtill practicable for Maurice to tranſport his forces to Hulſt, by the canal which falls into the Hondt or Weſter Scheld. But before he could reach the iſland in that way, Albert had tranſported his whole army, and begun the operations of the ſiege. The only expedient which Maurice could now employ, was to introduce ſupplies into the town by the canal, the mouth of which was commanded by a ſtrong fort, which he hoped the enemy would find impregnable. For this purpoſe he fixed his reſidence at Cruning in Zealand; and from that place, troops were frequently conveyed to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged, notwithſtanding the moſt ſtrenuous endeavours of the Spaniſh army to intercept them.

THE ſiege and the defence were conducted with equal vigour, and the combatants on both ſides gave innumerable proofs of the moſt heroic courage. The garriſon ſallied out almoſt every day, and made dreadful havoc among the Spaniards. De Rône, to whom the chief conduct of the ſiege had been committed, was killed; and by this irreparable loſs the aſſailants were greatly diſmayed. The Archduke, however,

however, perſiſted in this enterpriſe; and al- BOOK
though he had loſt a much greater number of XXIV.
his troops than in both the ſieges of Calais and 1596.
Ardres, he continued his operations with unremitted ardour, till, beſides demoliſhing all the outworks of the place, he had made a breach in the wall ſufficient to admit of an aſſault.

THE garriſon had thrown up a deep entrenchment within the breach, and as they were ſtill as numerous as ever, through the ſeaſonable ſupplies which Prince Maurice from time to time had ſent them, they had little reaſon for deſpair. But being ſeized with a ſudden panic, they urged Count Solmes, the Governor, with the moſt earneſt importunity, to capitulate; and the Count dreading that, in the preſent temper of their minds, they would probably deliver the town without his conſent, complied with their requeſt. Hulſt given up to the Spaniards. 18th Aug.

ALBERT ſtaid no longer in Hulſt than was neceſſary to give orders for repairing the fortifications; after which he returned to Bruſſels, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people; who flattered themſelves with hopes, that, under the government of a Prince ſo ſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes, an entire ſtop would ſoon be put to the incurſions of the enemy, and internal ſecurity reſtored. But their joy on this account Victory of M. Biron in Artois.

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account was of ſhort duration. Marſhal Biron, whom the French monarch had left behind him in Picardy, with a body of ſelect troops, had hitherto been ſatisfied with acting on the defenſive; but ſoon after the ſurrender of Hulſt, he began to make incurſions into the province of Artois, and kept all the ſouthern frontier of the Netherlands under perpetual alarms. The Archduke ſent the Marquis of Varambon to oppoſe him; and Varambon for ſome time obliged him to act with greater caution and circumſpection than he had hitherto obſerved. But Biron having received intelligence that the Marquis was on his march to offer battle, he advanced rapidly to meet him; and, having placed the greater part of his troops in an ambuſh, he proceeded with the reſt till he had reached the enemy. A fierce rencounter enſued; and Biron continued fighting and retreating, till he arrived at the place where his troops were poſted. He then returned to the charge with his whole forces united; and having taken Varambon priſoner, he put many of his troops to the ſword, and compelled the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight[k].

THE Prince of Chimai, now Duke D'Arſchot, was appointed to ſucceed Varambon;

[k] Bentivoglio, lib. iii. Grotius.

and

and his endeavours to repreſs the incurſions of the enemy were attended with no better ſucceſs than thoſe of his predeceſſor. Biron triumphed over him through the ſuperiority of his cavalry, and continued to exerciſe his depredations in the open parts of the country, till the approach of winter obliged him to retire. BOOK XXIV. 1596.

Expedition of the Engliſh againſt Spain.

DURING the courſe of theſe tranſactions in the Netherlands and France, Philip ſuſtained a calamity in Spain, which more than counterbalanced any advantage that could be expected from his late acquiſitions. Almoſt every ſeaſon ſince the diſcomfiture of his Armada in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-eight, the Engliſh had undertaken ſome naval enterpriſe againſt his dominions in Europe or in America. The affairs of the Netherlands and France had not hitherto left him leiſure to take revenge for theſe inſults; nor was his leiſure greater at the preſent period, than it had been for ſome years paſt; but his patience was exhauſted; and his acquiſition of a ſeaport, ſo commodiouſly ſituated as Calais, gave him a facility of annoying his enemy, which he had not poſſeſſed before. He reſolved, notwithſtanding his preſent embarraſſments, to improve the advantage which this circumſtance preſented, and having begun to prepare a naval and military force, he intended to make

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make a deſcent in Ireland; where he had long fomented the rebellious ſpirit of the Catholic inhabitants, and had reaſon to believe that they would join his troops as ſoon as they ſhould land.

Earl of Eſſex commander in chief.

ELIZABETH was aware of the impending danger, and determined, if poſſible, to diſſipate the ſtorm before it ſhould approach. For this purpoſe ſhe fitted out a fleet of more than a hundred and fifty ſhips, having about eight thouſand ſoldiers and ſeven thouſand mariners on board, and gave the command of the land forces to the Earl of Eſſex, and that of the navy to Lord Howard of Effingham. To this fleet the Dutch added twenty-four ſhips, with a proportional number of troops, under the command of Wardmont, Vice-admiral of Holland, and Count Lewis of Naſſau, couſin to Prince Maurice.

WITH this powerful armament, Elizabeth intended to make an attack on Cadiz, where Philip's naval preparations were principally carried on. But its deſtination was carefully concealed. Sealed inſtructions were delivered to the ſeveral commanders, not to be opened till they ſhould arrive at Cape St. Vincent's; and they were ordered, in their way thither, to keep at a diſtance from the coaſts of Spain and

and Portugal, in order to prevent a diſcovery of their deſign. BOOK XXIV. 1596.

THESE precautions ſerved effectually the purpoſe which was intended. The whole fleet arrived on the twentieth of June within ſight of Cadiz, and found the Spaniards entirely unprepared for their defence. There was in the bay and harbour, beſides thirty-ſix merchant ſhips richly laden, and ready to ſail for America and the Indies, a fleet of about thirty ſhips of war, and a great number of tranſports loaded with naval ſtores, deſigned for the equipment of another fleet, which Philip was then fitting out at Liſbon. But there was no perſon in the place inveſted with the chief command, and no garriſon in it ſufficient for its defence.

THE Spaniſh men of war, however, were quickly drawn up in the mouth of the bay, and they ſuſtained the attack of an enemy ſo much ſuperior to them, for ſeveral hours, till ſome of their largeſt ſhips were taken, others burnt, and the reſt driven aground on the flats and ſhallows. Cadiz ſacked and plundered by the Engliſh.

IMMEDIATELY after this ſucceſs, the Earl of Eſſex landed his troops, and led them towards the town. A body of Spaniſh forces marched out to meet him; but being unable to withſtand

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ſtand the impetuoſity of the Engliſh, they ſoon turned their backs and fled. The Engliſh purſued, and entered the town along with them. The inhabitants, who were thrown into the moſt dreadful conſternation, made a feeble reſiſtance, and the caſtle ſurrendered before the Engliſh artillery had begun to fire. Eſſex diſcovered not leſs humanity after his victory, than bravery in acquiring it. The town indeed was given up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, but no cruelty or outrage, ſuch as occurs ſo often in the hiſtory of the Netherlands, was permitted to be exerciſed. The booty was immenſe, and would have been much greater, if, while the commanders were treating with ſome of the principal merchants about a ranſom for the merchant ſhips, the Duke de Medina, who lay with ſome troops near the town, had not given orders for ſetting them on fire. It was computed that, in military and naval ſtores, merchant goods, and ſhips, the loſs which Philip and his ſubjects ſuſtained on this occaſion, could not amount to leſs than twenty millions of ducats. Had the advice of the Earl of Eſſex been followed, the Engliſh would have attempted to retain poſſeſſion of the town, but Lord Howard and the other commanders regarded his propoſal as chimerical. They believed that they had already fulfilled the Queen's intentions: they

dreaded the approach of a Spaniſh army, and therefore they made haſte to put their ſquadron on board their ſhips, and immediately ſet ſail for England. BOOK XXIV. 1596.

THE affront which Philip received on this occaſion, in having one of his capital towns ſacked and plundered, conſtituted a conſiderable part of his calamity, as it leſſened exceedingly the opinion entertained of his prudence, as well as of his internal ſtrength. This conſideration, joined to an impatient deſire of taking vengeance on Elizabeth, determined him, without regard to the approach of winter, to carry his plan of invading Ireland into immediate execution. By the arrival of his Plate fleet from America, he was enabled to equip, in Liſbon and other places, a hundred and twenty-eight ſhips of war and tranſports, with fourteen thouſand troops on board, beſides a great number of Iriſh Catholics, and a prodigious quantity of military ſtores, and materials and inſtruments for building forts. This fleet, under the command of Don Martin de Padilla, ſet ſail from Ferrol in the month of November; and if it had reached the deſtined port, the Spaniards, with the aſſiſtance of the Popiſh inhabitants, muſt have acquired ſo firm an eſtabliſhment in Ireland, as would have coſt the Deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet deſigned for Ireland.

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Engliſh many years, and much expence of labour and blood to diſpoſſeſs them.

Elizabeth and her ſubjects, flushed with their ſucceſs at Cadiz, were as ſecure as if the wound which they had lately inflicted on Philip's naval power had been mortal. They had no ſuſpicion of his deſign, and were entirely ignorant of his preparations; but the good providence of Heaven interpoſed remarkably on this occaſion, as it had done formerly, in their behalf. The Spaniſh fleet was overtaken by a ſtorm off Cape Finiſterre, and about forty ſhips, with their crews and ſtores, were loſt. Padilla got back with difficulty to Ferrol; and henceforth all thoughts of the intended enterpriſe were laid aſide[t].

1597. The battle of Turnhout.

These calamities were ſucceeded by another no leſs diſaſtrous event which happened in the Netherlands in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſeven. The fertile provinces of Brabant ſtill lay expoſed to the incurſions of the confederates; and the inhabitants, in order to ſave the country and villages from being ſacked and plundered, had been obliged to ſubmit to contributions, with which the United States were enabled to main-

[t] Grotius, lib. v. p. 269. Camden, p. 730. Carte, lib. xix.

tain

tain the garrisons of Breda, Gertrudenberg, and other places. The Archduke, solicitous to deliver the people from these oppressions, had cantoned between four and five thousand horse and foot in the open town of Turnhout, which, on account of its neighbourhood to Breda, he judged to be the fittest situation for watching the motions of the enemy; and he had given the command of these forces to the Count de Varas, brother to the Marquis of Varambon. BOOK XXIV. 1597.

Prince Maurice having received intelligence that Varas had been intrusted with this command more on account of his rank and family[d], than his military skill, resolved to avail himself of this imprudence into which the Archduke had been betrayed. With great secrecy and expedition he drew together an army of five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, and set out from Gertrudenberg with a design to attack the Spaniards in their quarters of cantonment. Varas was informed of his intention only on the evening before, and was determined, in contradiction to the remonstrances of some of his officers, to retire to the town of Herentals. He accordingly sent off the baggage in the night, and began his march by day-break, without the sound either of drum

[d] Of the name of De Ric in Franche Compté.

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or trumpet. His troops, almoſt all of whom were experienced veterans, were at firſt indignant at the thoughts of flying from an enemy whom they had often conquered: but the dread with which their general was actuated, ſoon diffuſed itſelf into every breaſt, and begot a conviction that their preſervation depended on the celerity of their retreat.

MAURICE was only a few miles from Turnhout when his ſcouts informed him of the Count's departure. He immediately ſent Sir Francis Vere with a party of horſe to ſcour the woods and hedges, and diſpatched another party under Count Hohenloe, to retard the Spaniards on their march till the infantry ſhould arrive. Beſides Count Hohenloe and Sir Francis Vere the Prince had brought with him Count Solmes, Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Fluſhing, and ſeveral others of his braveſt and moſt experienced officers, by whom all his orders were executed with equal prudence and intrepidity. Count Hohenloe, at the head of four hundred horſe began the attack, and quickly routed the Spaniſh cavalry, who being driven back upon the foot, threw them into diſorder. At this criſis, Maurice himſelf and Sir Francis Vere came up, and having broken through the enemy's ranks, completed their confuſion, and made dreadful havoc among them, till the greateſt

greateſt part of them were either put to the ſword or taken priſoners. Varas himſelf was killed, after having given proofs, that his miſconduct had not proceeded from the want of perſonal bravery, but from the conſciouſneſs of his inexperience, and his ſolicitude for the preſervation of his troops. Above two thouſand were ſlain, and five hundred taken priſoners, while the victors loſt only nine or ten. BOOK XXIV. 1597.

It was in this engagement that a practice invented by Maurice was firſt introduced, of arming the cavalry with carabines inſtead of lances; and to this invention, which filled the enemy with amazement, Grotius aſcribes the great facility with which they were overpowered; for the victory was gained entirely by the horſe, and the infantry arrived only in time to divide the ſpoil.

The battle of Turnhout, through the great diſparity between the numbers of the ſlain on the oppoſite ſides, contributed more to exalt the *character* of Maurice, than any of his former atchievements. Nor was it military renown only which he acquired; he gave a ſtriking proof likewiſe of his humanity in his treatment of the priſoners, whom he protected from all injury and violence with the utmoſt care, and many of whom recovered through the

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tender attention which he beſtowed. He ſent the body of Count Varas to the Archduke; and Albert on that occaſion aſſured him, that he would follow his generous example, and take effectual pains to prevent all cruelty and outrage in the further proſecution of the war [c].

The ſurpriſe of Amiens.

The loſs which Albert ſuſtained in the battle of Turnhout was ſoon afterwards compenſated by his acquiſition of Amiens, the capital of Picardy, and one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt important towns in France. The citizens, who had been zealous partiſans of the League, had lately ſubmitted to the King, upon condition that all their ancient privileges ſhould be preſerved, and in particular, that they ſhould be allowed to guard the town themſelves, and not be obliged to admit a garriſon of mercenary troops.

THE number of thoſe who were enrolled for bearing arms was between fourteen and fifteen thouſand; but neither their diſcipline nor their vigilance correſponded to the danger to which they were expoſed from the neighbourhood of the Spaniards. They gave the ſame attention to their ordinary occupations as in the time of

[c] Grotius, lib. vi. ab initio. Thuanus, lib. cxviii. c. v. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. iii.

peace;

peace; only a few were employed as centinels and guards, and even theſe performed their duty in the moſt negligent manner.

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Of this negligence, Portocarrero, Governor of Dourlens, a brave and enterpriſing officer, had received intelligence from one of the citizens[f], and he founded upon it a plan for taking the city by ſurpriſe. Having communicated this plan to the Archduke, and obtained his approbation, he collected from the neighbouring garriſons about three thouſand horſe and foot, which he judged to be ſufficient to carry it into execution[g]. On the eleventh of March, he ſet out from Dourlens in the beginning of the night, and before ſun-riſe arrived at an hermitage about a quarter of a mile from Amiens. As ſoon as he perceived that the gate which lay next him was opened, he ſent forward ten or twelve of the moſt reſolute of his ſoldiers, with three officers, called D'Ognano, La Croix, and Del Acro, diſguiſed like the peaſants of that country with long frocks, under which each of them had a brace of piſtols and a ſword concealed. Three of this

[f] He had been baniſhed on account of ſome crime.

[g] They conſiſted of eleven hundred Spaniards, five hundred Burgundians and Germans, four hundred Iriſh, two hundred Walloons, and nine hundred horſe.

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party carried bags filled with nuts and apples. One of them drove a waggon loaded with large beams, and the reſt followed ſlowly at a little diſtance. When the three firſt had paſſed the palliſades and approached the gate, one of them fell down, as by accident, and ſcattered the nuts and apples; and while the guards, making game of the ſuppoſed peaſant, were ſcrambling for the fruit, the waggon was driven under the gate. There it ſtopped, and Del Acro, by pulling an iron pin, quickly diſengaged the horſes. He then fired a piſtol, which was the ſign agreed upon, and he, and thoſe who were with him, falling with great fury upon the guard, killed moſt of them, and made themſelves maſters of the gate. The centinel upon the top of the gate-way, perceiving what had paſſed, attempted to let down the portcullis; but it was ſuſpended by the beams and the waggon, and Portocarrero in the mean time brought forward his troops, and ruſhed into the town. The citizens, entirely unprepared for this ſudden attack, were overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment and conſternation. Their reſiſtance was feeble and ill-conducted; and, after about a hundred of their number had fallen, they laid down their arms, and ſuffered the enemy to take poſſeſſion of the town.

THE news of this diſaſter affected the French monarch in the moſt ſenſible manner, and greatly allayed the joy which his late triumph over the League was calculated to excite. He conſidered, that the Spaniards were, before this time, in poſſeſſion of Calais, one of the principal ſea-ports in his dominions; and that by their preſent conqueſt they had opened a paſſage from the Netherlands, by which they could make incurſions to the gates of the capital. He was mortified by reflecting on the judgment which foreign nations muſt form of a Prince, whoſe glory conſiſted chiefly in victories obtained over his own ſubjects; and he dreaded, that the malcontents in his kingdom might take advantage of the preſent calamity, and rekindle the flames of civil war. He had laboured for ſome time under bad health; notwithſtanding which, he broke off a courſe of medicine which had been preſcribed to him, and ſet out immediately for Corbie on the Somme [h], where, after conſulting with the Marſhal Biron and ſome other principal officers, he reſolved to poſtpone every other object of his attention to the recovery of Amiens. He then ordered Biron to inveſt the town with ſuch forces as he could draw from the neighbouring

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1597. Henry's diſtreſs on that occaſion.

[h] About three leagues higher than Amiens.

garriſons,

BOOK XXIV. garriſons, and returned to Paris to haſten the preparations neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs.

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The ſiege of Amiens.

HENRY knew that the moſt vigorous exertion of his activity was requiſite on this occaſion, and he laboured with unceaſing ardour, till, beſides raiſing a numerous army, he had collected, from every quarter of his dominions, proviſions and military ſtores proportioned to the difficulty of his intended enterpriſe. He concluded at this time a new alliance with the Queen of England and the States of Holland, in conſequence of which the former ſent him four thouſand troops, and the latter furniſhed him with a conſiderable ſum of money, beſides engaging to make a powerful diverſion of the Spaniſh forces in the Netherlands. Having ſent off his troops to Amiens before him, as faſt as they were raiſed, he found on his return thither in the beginning of June, that the ſiege was already far advanced. Biron, prompted by his natural ardour, and piqued by a ſaying which had dropt from the King, that his affairs almoſt never proſpered where he was not preſent, had exerted the moſt indefatigable vigilance and induſtry. He had rendered the blockade complete, by drawing ſtrong lines of circumvallation round the town, and had begun to make his approaches to the walls. Henry approved highly

highly of every thing that he had done, and in order to pacify his reſentment, ſuffered him ſtill to retain the chief command. BOOK XXIV. 1597.

As the number of the troops was conſiderably augmented by thoſe which the King had brought with him, and by the arrival of the Engliſh forces, the operations of the ſiege were carried on with redoubled ardour and alacrity; but the progreſs of the aſſailants was retarded greatly beyond what had been expected, by the invincible bravery and unremitted vigilance of the Governor and garriſon, who diſputed every inch of ground with matchleſs intrepidity, and in the numberleſs ſallies which they made, put ſome thouſands of the beſiegers to the ſword.

By theſe ſallies their own number was conſiderably diminiſhed, and in one of them Portocarrero was killed. The defence however was ſtill conducted with the ſame ſkill and ſpirit as before by the Marquis de Montenegro, a Neapolitan of the family of Caraffa, and the King had reaſon to deſpair of being able to finiſh his enterpriſe before the arrival of the Spaniſh army from the Netherlands.

Albert attempts in vain to raiſe the ſiege.

The Archduke was ſenſible that it was of great importance to Philip's intereſt to preſerve poſſeſſion

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poſſeſſion of Amiens, whether he ſhould enter into a treaty of peace with the French monarch, or proſecute the war; and he could not have exerted himſelf with greater activity in making the preparations neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege. But his levies, as well as all his other preparations, had been carried on ſlowly, through the extreme difficulty which he found in procuring money. The deſtruction of the fleet and ſtores at Cadiz had contributed not a little to increaſe that diſorder which had ſo long prevailed in the King's finances. For ſeveral years Philip had been in the practice of borrowing large ſums from the Italian and Flemiſh merchants, for which he had agreed to pay them an exorbitant intereſt, and had mortgaged certain branches of his revenue. The inconveniences ariſing from thence had become intolerable, and he was determined to deliver himſelf from them at once, whatever ſhould be the conſequence. He had accordingly publiſhed an edict in the month of November of the preceding year, declaring all the contracts by which he had ſequeſtered his revenue to be null and void; and alleging, as an excuſe for this ſtep, that through the unfair advantages which had been taken of his diſtreſs, he had reaſon to dread, that, unleſs ſome remedy were

were immediately applied, all his labours in behalf of Chriſtendom and the true religion would be loſt[1]. B. V. CH. XXIV. 1597.

PHILIP had as little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the prudence, as with the juſtice, of this expedient. His annual revenue, though now freed from all incumbrances, was inſufficient to defray the enormous expence of the preſent war. It was ſtill neceſſary for him, while the war continued, to borrow money; but no merchants, either in Genoa or Antwerp, where it had been uſually found, could be perſuaded to advance it; and it was this cauſe chiefly which had ſo long retarded the Archduke's preparations for the relief of Amiens.

THE blockade of that city had been formed in April, and it was the end of Auguſt before he could begin his march. At that time he ſet out with an army of more than five-and-twenty thouſand men, and arrived within ſight of the French camp about the middle of September. As his infantry was greatly ſuperior to that of the enemy, he reſolved to offer battle; and from the well-known temper of the French monarch, he doubted not that his challenge would be accepted. But Henry being diſtruſtful of his infantry, the greateſt part of which Surrender of Amiens.

[1] Grotius, lib. v.

conſiſted

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consisted of raw troops, readily complied with the advice of the Duke de Mayenne, whom he had brought with him to the siege, and resolved to remain within his lines. The Archduke advanced towards him, with his army drawn up in order of battle; but when he perceived that the King's resolution was unalterably fixed, that he was well prepared for his defence, and that his intrenchments were every where strongly fortified, he despaired of being able to effectuate his purpose, and returned to the Netherlands. In a few days after his retreat, the Marquis de Montenegro, with the approbation of the Archduke, consented to capitulate, and received from Henry the most honourable terms[k].

Progress of the war in the Netherlands.

During the greatest part of the siege of Amiens, nothing memorable was transacted in the Netherlands; but as the Archduke had, in order to fill up his army, almost drained the provinces of troops, he had no sooner begun his march, than Prince Maurice, having assembled between twelve and thirteen thousand horse and foot, laid siege to Rhinberg, and in a few days obliged it to capitulate, though the garrison amounted to a thousand men. He next reduced the town of Meurs with the same facility. After

End of August.

[k] D'Avila, lib. xv. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. iv.

which,

which, having paſſed the Rhine, he made himſelf maſter of Grol, Brevort, and ſeveral other places, and then directed his march towards Lingen, the only fortified town which remained in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards on the north ſide of the Rhine. Both the town and caſtle of Lingen were commanded by Count Frederic of Heremberg, with a garriſon of ſix or ſeven hundred men; and the Count made, for ſome time, a vigorous and ſpirited defence. But the Prince, after his batteries were ready to begin to play, having ſent him a ſummons to ſurrender on honourable terms, with an intimation, that as this was the firſt ſummons, ſo he might be aſſured that it would be the laſt; Heremberg conſidered, that his perſeverance muſt be attended with the deſtruction of the garriſon, and therefore agreed to the terms propoſed.

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1597. 26th September.

All theſe conqueſts were atchieved in leſs than three months. In thoſe of Grol and Brevort, places ſituated in a marſhy ſoil, Maurice encountered difficulties which required a vigorous exertion of his ſuperior talents to ſurmount; but as no peculiar or ſtriking circumſtances are recorded by the cotemporary hiſtorians, I have not thought it neceſſary to deſcend to a particular detail. The acquiſition of ſo many frontier towns was of great import-

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ance to the United Provinces, as they were thereby delivered from the incurſions of the Spaniſh garriſons, by which the inhabitants of the adjacent country had been kept under perpetual alarms; and the States, deeply ſenſible of this advantage, teſtified their gratitude to Prince Maurice, by conferring on him and on his poſterity the rich ſeignory of Lingen and its dependencies.

1598. Negociations for peace.

THESE tranſactions happened towards the end of the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſeven; and the following was diſtinguiſhed by a negociation which was ſet on foot for the eſtabliſhment of peace between France and Spain. Neither Philip nor Henry had derived from the war thoſe advantages, by the proſpect of which they had been allured, and both of them had powerful motives for deſiring that it might be ſpeedily brought to a concluſion. Philip's eyes were now opened to the vanity of thoſe flattering dreams of conqueſt by which he had been ſo long deluded. His acquiſitions in France had coſt him more than they were worth; and, beſides the expence of making them, they were much more than counterbalanced by the loſſes which year after year he had ſuffered in the Netherlands. His finances, as has been already mentioned, were in extreme diſorder; his credit was ruined by

the late violation of his faith; his troops in many places of the Low Countries had mutinied again, on account of their want of pay; and if the war ſhould continue for another campaign, he thought it not improbable that the greater part of them would refuſe to march againſt the enemy. From his advanced age, and broken health, he had reaſon to believe that his death was not far diſtant, and he dreaded the fatal conſequences which might ariſe from leaving his ſon, who was hardly arrived at the age of manhood, involved in war with a Prince ſo powerful and enterpriſing as the King of France.

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PEACE was no leſs deſirable to Henry than to Philip; thoſe wounds under which his kingdom had bled for ſo many years, were ſtill uncloſed, and numberleſs diſtempers prevailed in almoſt every quarter, to which no effectual remedy could be applied during the continuance of the war.

WHILE, for theſe reaſons, both Princes were alike deſirous of peace, neither of them would yield ſo far to his antagoniſt as to be the firſt to propoſe it. But the ſovereign Pontiff, as the father of all Catholic Princes, and the common friend of the two contending Monarchs, acted the part of mediator between them; and Cle-

The Pope mediates between the contending Monarchs.

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ment discovered, on this occasion, a degree of zeal and prudence, which justly entitled him to that high respect in which his character was held by his cotemporaries. At his request, it was agreed by the two Kings, that a congress should be held at Vervins, a town in Picardy, near the confines of Hainault. The presidents de Believere and Sillery, were appointed plenipotentiaries by Henry; and Ricardotto and Baptista Taffis, by Philip. Alexander de Medici, the Cardinal Legate, likewise repaired thither, and in the month of February the conferences were begun.

Opposition to peace by Elizabeth and the States.

These conferences were matter of great anxiety to the States of Holland, as they could not doubt that a principal motive which had determined Philip to disengage himself from the war with France, was, that he might be at liberty to employ his whole strength against the confederated provinces. They were not without suspicions likewise, that the Queen of England would embrace the present opportunity of delivering herself from the Spanish war, and were therefore much disquieted at the apprehensions of being left without an ally to support them. But they were soon delivered from their fears with regard to the conduct of Elizabeth, who being entirely convinced that the interest and safety of their infant republic were

were inſeparable from her own, gave them freſh assurances of the continuance of her friendſhip.

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The French Monarch no ſooner agreed to the Pope's propoſal of a congreſs, than he ſent an intimation of it to his allies, and expreſſed his deſire, that, if poſſible, a general peace might be eſtabliſhed, in which they, as well as himſelf, might be comprehended. But neither Elizabeth nor the States were diſpoſed to liſten to his advice. The latter were well aſſured that no conſideration would perſuade Philip to treat with them as a free State, and they were unalterably determined never to acknowledge him for their ſovereign. Elizabeth, who had on different occaſions experienced the great advantage which ſhe derived from her alliance with them, was no leſs ſolicitous than themſelves that they ſhould maintain their independence; and ſhe believed, that while they maintained it, ſhe ſhould have no great reaſon to dread the power of Philip. She was concerned however at the proſpect of loſing ſo uſeful an ally as the King of France, and ſent Sir Robert Cecil and Mr. Herbert, who were accompanied by Juſtin de Naſſau and the celebrated Barnevelt, from the States, to remonſtrate with Henry againſt the peace.

These able negociators left no argument untouched that could diſſuade him from his pur-

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pose: they reminded him of the alliance into which he had lately entered with the Queen and the States, and of the assistance which on different occasions they had afforded him. They represented the danger to which he exposed himself by treating with a Prince who had given so many striking proofs of insincerity; and they offered to furnish him with a large supply of forces, besides money, and a numerous fleet, for the recovery of Calais, and the farther prosecution of the war.

HENRY replied, that no alliance which he had formed with the Queen or the States, could be reasonably interpreted as an obligation on him unnecessarily to prolong the war, which he was persuaded would soon prove the utter ruin of his kingdom. He expressed in strong terms his gratitude for the friendship which they had shewn him, and assured them, that no peace which he should conclude with Spain, would prevent him from making a suitable return. From the manner of life to which he had been so long inured, joined to the provocations which he had received from Philip, they might believe, that it was not an aversion to the war, but the necessity of peace, that had determined him to embrace a measure so repugnant to the inclination of his friends. The disorders which prevailed in his dominions were such, that if the

the proper remedies were not applied, they would ſoon become incurable, and theſe remedies could not be applied in the time of war; but peace, he hoped, would quickly reſtore his kingdom to its native ſtrength and vigour; when, inſtead of being a burden upon his allies, as he had hitherto been, he would be able, and they ſhould find him willing, not only to repay with intereſt the obligations which they had laid him under, but to defend and protect them, and the reſt of Europe, againſt the exorbitant ambition of the King of Spain. BOOK XXIV. 1598.

This apology, delivered with that irreſiſtible force of natural eloquence, by which Henry was eminently diſtinguiſhed, made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the minds of the Engliſh and Dutch Ambaſſadors; they could not doubt of the truth of what they had heard; and before their departure, they had the candour to acknowledge, that as the peace which he was about to conclude was neceſſary for France, ſo it might be found in the iſſue highly beneficial to the other European powers. Henry ſent Ambaſſadors to England and Holland to enforce what he had ſaid on this occaſion, and ſtill continued as formerly on terms of cordial friendſhip both with Elizabeth and the States.

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THE treaty of peace was ſoon after brought to the deſired concluſion [l]. Several difficulties occured during the courſe of the conferences, which were removed through the diſintereſted zeal and great authority of the Pope and the Cardinal Legate; and at length, upon Henry's reſigning his claim to Cambray, Philip conſented, though with great reluctance, to give up Calais, Andres, Dourlens, and all the other towns in France, which he had acquired at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure [m].

1598. Concluſion of peace on the 2d of May.

PHILIP had been the more ſolicitous to put an end to the war, on account of a ſcheme which he had conceived, after the diſappointment of his views in France, of transferring the ſovereignty of the Netherlands to his eldeſt daughter Iſabella, whom he intended to give in marriage to the Archduke. And to embrace this meaſure, he was prompted, partly by his affection for the Infanta, one of the moſt accompliſhed women of the age, and partly by his eſteem for Albert, whom, of all the Princes in Europe, he deemed the moſt worthy of ſo illuſtrious an alliance.

Philip transfers the Netherlands to Iſabella and Albert.

[l] At Vervins.

[m] Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. iv. p. 464. Sully, lib. ix. D'Avila, towards the concluſion. Thuanus, lib. cxx. ſect. i. and v.; and Cambden, p. 760, &c. Miniana, lib. x. cap. xii.

BUT

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But while his attachment to his daughter and her future husband made him desirous of procuring for them some sovereign establishment, he could not, without reluctance, resolve to separate from the body of his empire so rich a portion of his hereditary dominions. To the troops and money of the Netherlands, the late Emperor and himself had been greatly indebted for most of their victories over their enemies in France and Germany; and it had been the Netherlands chiefly, which, by their situation in the heart of Europe, had rendered them formidable to the several European powers, and enabled them so long to maintain the tranquillity of their other dominions. The preservation indeed of these provinces had, for many years, proved a perpetual drain for the wealth of the Spanish monarchy; but it was doubtful whether, if they were disjointed from it, they would not be found as great a burden as ever, since it would still be incumbent on the King to support the Archduke in his new sovereignty, against the attempts of his enemies in the revolted provinces.

His deliberations on this subject.

These considerations were urged with great warmth by the Count de Fuentes, in order to dissuade Philip from the prosecution of his design. But some others of his counsellors, and particularly the Count de Castel-Rodrigo, in

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whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence, were at no leſs pains to confirm him in it, by repreſenting, that the ſeparation propoſed, inſtead of leſſening, would ſerve to augment the ſtrength and vigour of the Spaniſh monarchy.

"THE Netherlands lay ſo remote from the ſeat of government, and the laws of that country, and the language, character, and manners of the people, were ſo extremely different from thoſe of Spain, that it would be for ever found impracticable to preſerve them in obedience. Their averſion to a foreign dominion, and eſpecially that of Spain, was inſurmountable; the abſence and diſtance of the King had been the cauſe of that inveterate rebellion which had furniſhed employment to his armies for almoſt forty years, and no other effectual means could be deviſed either to reconcile the provinces which had already revolted, or to prevent the reſt from imitating their example, but to give them a ſovereign of their own, who, by reſiding among them, might conciliate and ſecure their affections. It was true, that, without the aſſiſtance of the Queen of England, the rebels muſt long ere now have laid down their arms; but if with the feeble aid which they had received from a Queen engroſſed with domeſtic cares, and tottering on her throne, they had been able for ſo many years not only to de-

fend

fend themſelves, but to carry on an offenſive ſucceſsful war, how much reaſon was there to dread the conſequences that muſt follow, if the Britiſh crowns were united, as they would ſoon be, on the head of a Prince in the vigour of life, who, being free from the embarraſſments of a diſputed title, would have full leiſure to give attention to foreign affairs? From jealouſy of the King, the neighbouring Princes would never ceaſe to ſupport the rebellion, and foment the diſcontents of his Flemiſh ſubjects; but if the Netherlands were diſunited from the Spaniſh monarchy, and erected into a ſeparate and independent ſtate, the cauſe of that jealouſy would be removed; it would become the intereſt of France and Britain, and the other neighbouring powers, to lend their aſſiſtance to extinguiſh the war; and even the revolted States would, in order to ſecure internal tranquility, chuſe to return to their ancient union with the ſouthern provinces."

His deed of abdication.

By theſe arguments, which coincided with Philip's inclination, he was confirmed in his deſign; and, on the ſixth of May, he ſigned the deed of abdication; in which, after declaring his reſolution to give the Infanta in marriage to the Archduke, he reſigned the ſovereignty of the Netherlands, and of the county of Burgundy, to that Princeſs, to be enjoyed conjunctly

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jointly by her and her future husband; and after their decease, by the heirs of the marriage, whether male or female, according to the established rules of hereditary succession.

But it was provided, that in case this sovereignty should devolve to a female, she should marry either the King or the Prince of Spain: That neither any Prince nor Princess descended from the Infanta, should marry without the consent of the King of Spain; and that in default of issue, the Netherlands should be reunited to the Spanish monarchy. By other articles, it was stipulated that the new sovereigns should prevent their subjects from trading to the Indies; that they should, before their admission, take an oath to permit the exercise of no other religion but the Catholic, within their dominions; and in case they should fail in the execution of this, or any other article, it was declared that the sovereignty transferred should immediately return to the crown of Spain.

How received in the Netherlands.

This deed was immediately transmitted to the Archduke; and soon afterwards the States of the southern provinces agreed to accept of the Archduke and the Infanta for their sovereigns, with the conditions which the deed contained; being well pleased to be delivered, as they expected to be, from the yoke of Spain,

Spain, which they had found ſo grievous and intolerable. BOOK XXIV. 1598.

But although this event gave great ſatisfaction to the people ſubject to the Spaniſh government, it was not likely to produce any change in the ſentiments or conduct of their neighbours in the United Provinces. The new ſovereigns, ſaid the confederates, whom Philip has appointed, will be ſovereigns in name only and appearance, but not in reality. They will be utterly unable to ſupport themſelves without the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh arms. They will depend on Spain, as much as any Spaniſh governor or regent; and the Spaniards will ſtill continue to exerciſe, as formerly, an unlimited influence in the government. In the deed of abdication, the Netherlands are treated, not as a free and independent ſtate, but as a fief of the Spaniſh monarchy; and from the advanced age of the Infanta[m], together with the conditions of the deed of abdication, it was evident that the preſent meaſure could be meant only as a temporary expedient, intended to amuſe the people of the ſouthern provinces, and not as a fixed and permanent eſtabliſhment. But whatever was the King's intention in this meaſure, and whether the ſovereignty now tranſ-

[m] Thirty-two.

ferred,

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ferred, ſhould or ſhould not return to the crown of Spain, it was the unalterable reſolution of the United Provinces to maintain their liberty, in oppoſition to whatever attempts might be made to deprive them of it by the King of Spain, or the Archduke of Auſtria [a].

ALBERT was in the mean time employed in preparing to ſet out for Madrid; but having been detained in the Low Countries much longer than he expected, by a new mutiny of his troops, he had juſt begun his journey when he received intelligence of the death of the King.

Illneſs and death of Philip.

FOR more than two years this Prince had been extremely afflicted with the gout; to which had been lately added a hectic fever, and a dropſy. Finding his ſtrength ſo much decayed, that he could not expect to live above a few weeks, he ordered his attendants to tranſport him from Madrid to the Eſcurial; and when his phyſicians ſignified to him their apprehenſions, that he would not be able to endure the fatigue: "But I am reſolved," he anſwered, "to accompany my funeral to my tomb." Upon his arrival at the Eſcurial, the gout returned with double violence both in his

[a] Van Meteren, Grotius, &c.

feet and hands; and ſoon afterwards, ſeveral impoſthumes gathered in his knees and breaſt, which occaſioned the moſt excruciating pain. He was in ſome meaſure relieved by laying the impoſthumes open. But another more intolerable diſtreſs ſucceeded. The matter of his ſores was of the moſt purulent and nauſeous nature, and ſwarms of lice were engendered in it, from which no application, and no care or pains, could deliver him. In this dreadful condition, he lay in a ſupine poſture, for more than fifty days; during which time he exhibited a ſtriking diſplay of patience, firmneſs of mind, and reſignation to his fate. He gave proof of the ſincerity of his religious profeſſion, by practiſing, with great zeal and aſſiduity, thoſe ſuperſtitious obſervances, which the church of Rome preſcribes, as the means of procuring acceptance with the Deity. He ſeemed inclined likewiſe to make atonement for ſome ſeverities which he had exerciſed, and ordered ſeveral priſoners to be releaſed, and their effects reſtored *.

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About two days before his death, having ſent for his ſon, and his daughter Iſabella, he diſcourſed to them of the vanity of human greatneſs, delivered many ſalutary counſels for

* Among theſe was the wife of Antonio Perez.

the

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the adminiſtration of their dominions, and exhorted them with much earneſtneſs, to cultivate and maintain the Catholic faith. When they had left him, he gave directions for his funeral; and ordered his coffin to be brought into his chamber, and placed within his view; ſoon after which his ſpeech failed, and he expired on the thirteenth of September, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign [p].

His character.

No character was ever drawn by different hiſtorians in more oppoſite colours than that of Philip; and yet, conſidering the length and activity of his reign, there is none which it ſhould ſeem would be more eaſy to aſcertain. From the facts recorded in the preceding hiſtory, we cannot doubt that he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, penetration, vigilance, and a capacity for government. His eyes were continually open upon every part of his extenſive dominions. He entered into every branch of adminiſtration; watched over the conduct of his miniſters with unwearied attention; and in his choice both of them and of his generals, diſcovered a conſiderable ſhare of ſagacity. He had at all times a compoſed and ſettled countenance, and never appeared to be either elated

[p] Miniana, lib. x. cap. xiv. Thuanus, lib. cxx. ſect. xiv.

or

or depreſſed. His temper was the moſt impe-
rious, and his looks and demeanour were
haughty and ſevere; yet among his Spaniſh
ſubjects, he was of eaſy acceſs; liſtened pa-
tiently to their repreſentations and complaints;
and, where his ambition and bigotry did not
interfere, was generally willing to redreſs
their grievances. When we have ſaid thus
much in his praiſe, we have ſaid all that juſ-
tice requires, or truth permits. It is indeed
impoſſible to ſuppoſe that he was inſincere in
his zeal for religion. But as his religion was
of the moſt corrupt kind, it ſerved to increaſe
the natural depravity of his diſpoſition; and
not only allowed, but even prompted him to
commit the moſt odious and ſhocking crimes.
Although a Prince in the bigotted age of
Philip might be perſuaded that the intereſt of
religion would be advanced by falſehood and
perſecution; yet it might be expected, that,
in a virtuous Prince, the ſentiments of ho-
nour and humanity would, on ſome occaſions,
triumph over the dictates of ſuperſtition; but
of this triumph, there occurs not a ſingle
inſtance in the reign of Philip; who, without
heſitation, violated his moſt ſacred obliga-
tions as often as religion afforded him a pre-
tence; and under that pretence exerciſed for
many years the moſt unrelenting cruelty,
without reluctance or remorſe. His ambition,

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which was exorbitant; his reſentment, which was implacable; his arbitrary temper, which would ſubmit to no controul; concurred with his bigotted zeal for the Catholic religion, and carried the ſanguinary ſpirit, which that religion was calculated to inſpire, to a greater height in Philip, than it ever attained in any other Prince of that, or of any former or ſucceeding age.

SOME hiſtorians have diſtinguiſhed this Prince by the title of Philip the Prudent [q], and have repreſented him as the wiſeſt, as well as the moſt religious Prince, that ever filled the Spaniſh throne. But it is queſtionable whether he be entitled to praiſe on account of his prudence, any more than on account of his religion. In the beginning of his reign, he diſcovered great caution in his military enterpriſes; and, on ſome occaſions, made even greater preparations than were neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs. But his ambition, his reſentment, and his abhorrence of the Proteſtants were too violent to ſuffer him to act conformably to the dictates of ſound policy and prudence. He might have prevented the revolt of his Dutch and Flemiſh ſubjects, if, after the reformation in the Netherlands was ſup-

[q] Eldiſcreto.

preſſed

preſſed by the Ducheſs of Parma, he had left the reins of government in the hands of that wiſe Princeſs, and had not ſent ſo odious a tyrant as the Duke of Alva to enſlave them. He might, after the defeat of the Prince of Orange, have rivetted the chains of ſlavery about their necks, and gradually accuſtomed them to the yoke; if, by engaging in too many expenſive enterpriſes, he had not exhauſted his exchequer, and made it, in ſome meaſure neceſſary for Alva to impoſe the taxes of the tenth and twentieth pennies, for the maintenance of his troops. He might, through the great abilities of the Duke of Parma, have again reduced the revolted provinces to obedience, if he had not conceived the wild ambition of ſubduing England and acquiring the ſovereignty of France. His armies, in the latter part of his reign, were never ſufficiently numerous to execute the various enterpriſes which he undertook; yet they were much more numerous than he was able to ſupport. Few years paſſed in which they did not mutiny for want of pay. And Philip ſuffered greater prejudice from the diſorders and devaſtation which his own troops committed, than he received from the arms of his enemies. Againſt his attempts on England and France, his wiſeſt counſellors remonſtrated in the ſtrongeſt terms. And prudence certainly required

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quired that, previouſly to any attack upon the dominions of others, he ſhould have ſecured poſſeſſion of his own. Yet ſo great was his illuſion, that rather than delay the execution of thoſe ſchemes which his reſentment and ambition had ſuggeſted, he choſe to run the riſk of loſing the fruits of all the victories which the Duke of Parma had obtained; and having left defenceleſs the provinces which had ſubmitted to his authority, he thereby afforded an opportunity to the revolted provinces, of eſtabliſhing their power, on ſo firm a foundation, as could not be ſhaken by the whole ſtrength of the Spaniſh monarchy, exerted againſt it for more than fifty years [s].

[s] By his firſt wife, Mary of Portugal, Philip had no other iſſue but Don Carlos; and by his ſecond, Mary of England, he had none. Iſabella, daughter of Henry II. of France, bore him two daughters, Iſabella Clara-Eugenia, and Catherine; the former of whom was married to the Archduke Albert; and the latter to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy. His fourth wife, Anne of Auſtria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand, and of Philip's own ſiſter Mary, brought him three ſons and one daughter, who all died young, except Philip, who ſucceeded him.

If the reader incline to enter more particularly into the private life and character of Philip, than has been thought proper in the general hiſtory of his reign, he will meet with ſeveral intereſting anecdotes, in the Prince of Orange's Apology, of which an abſtract is ſubjoined.

APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

AN ABSTRACT

OF THE

APOLOGY OR VINDICATION

OF THE

PRINCE OF ORANGE,

AGAINST

PHILIP's PROSCRIPTION.

APPENDIX.

THE Prince of Orange begins his Apology, which is addreſſed to the confederated States, with obſerving, that being conſcious of having devoted his life and fortune to the ſervice of the Netherlands, it afforded him great joy to reflect upon the teſtimony given to his fidelity and zeal, in that barbarous Proſcription which had been publiſhed againſt him by the King of Spain. "I have reaſon likewiſe," continued he, "to rejoice at the opportunity which is thus preſented to me, to vindicate my conduct from thoſe malignant imputations, which have been caſt upon it by certain ignoble hirelings; and which are repeated and ſet forth in the blackeſt colours in this Proſcription. For I am not accuſed at this time by any of thoſe obſcure libellers, to whom I have ever thought it beneath my dignity to reply; but by a great and powerful Prince, who intends, through my ſides, to wound, and if poſſible to deſtroy, the confederacy. I can

APPEND. 1580.

APPEND. 1580. with confidence appeal to you, who are well acquainted with my paſt life, whether it has ever been my practice, either to praiſe myſelf or to cenſure others. And I muſt likewiſe appeal to you and to the world, whether now, when I am accuſed of ingratitude, infidelity, and hypocriſy, compared to a Judas and a Cain, called a rebel, a traitor, a diſturber of the public peace, and an enemy to mankind; and when both pecuniary and honorary rewards are promiſed to thoſe who ſhall ſlay or murder me; whether after this the duty which I owe to myſelf, and to you who have repoſed in me ſuch unlimited confidence, does not call upon me to ſay what I can conſiſtently with truth, to prove the malice and falſehood of my accuſer? If you know his repreſentation of my conduct to be juſt, you will ſhut your ears againſt the defence which I am about to offer; but if you have known me from my youth to be more faithful, and chaſte, and virtuous, than the Author of this infamous Proſcription, I ſhall expect that you will attend favourably to what I ſhall advance, and deliver judgment in vindication of my integrity and innocence.

"THE firſt crime of which I am accuſed in this Proſcription, is ingratitude; and a recital is made of favours beſtowed on me by the King himſelf, and the Emperor his father; to the latter

latter of whom, it is ſaid, I owed my ſucceſſion to the late Prince of Orange; and to the former my having been admitted into the order of the Golden Fleece, and appointed a Counſellor of State, and Governor of the Provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy. APPEND. 1580.

"No man reſpects more than I do the memory of the Emperor, and I reflect with much ſatisfaction on the many proofs of attachment which I received from him. But the neceſſity which I am laid under to vindicate my character, obliges me to obſerve, that of the ſort of favours which are objected to me, I never received any from the Emperor, but on the contrary ſuffered great loſs and prejudice in his ſervice. With reſpect to my ſucceſſion to the inheritance bequeathed to me by my couſin, the late Prince of Orange, it is impoſſible to conceive any ground for alleging that I was at all indebted for it to the Emperor. My right to that inheritance was indiſputable; nor was there ever any Prince or private perſon, who pretended to call in queſtion its validity. Would not the Emperor have been juſtly accuſed of tyranny and injuſtice, if he had prevented me from enjoying it? And does my accuſer reckon it an inſtance of goodneſs in a Prince, merely not to defraud and oppreſs his faithful ſubjects?

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" ALL Europe knows what important ſervices the Emperor received from the Prince my kinſman; who commanded his armies, extended his dominions, and died at his feet. Had the Emperor employed his power to diſappoint the laſt will of one who had ſerved him with ſo much fidelity and ſucceſs would he not have involved his name in perpetual infamy? Beſides, that even although he had inclined to act a part ſo unworthy of his character, yet of the moſt valuable part of that inheritance he could not have deprived me, as it lies within the territory of the King of France, on whom alone I depend for the ſecure poſſeſſion of it. But even allowing that what is ſaid of my obligations to the Emperor were true, yet the King of Spain is ſurely not entitled to reproach me with it; who, in contempt of all law and juſtice, has, to the utmoſt of his power, endeavoured to deprive me of the inheritance in queſtion, and rendered ineffectual that kindneſs of the Emperor, for my unmindfulneſs of which he accuſes me of ingratitude.

" GRATITUDE, in the opinion of this Prince, ought not to be confined to the perſon by whom favours have been beſtowed, but ought to extend likewiſe to his deſcendants: and it is becauſe I have oppoſed the ſon, whoſe father was my benefactor, that I am deemed ungrateful.

Let

Let him apply this golden rule to his own conduct, as he has applied it to mine; and he will then perceive which of us is guilty of ingratitude. Maximilian was the firſt of the family of Auſtria who came into the Netherlands. And no perſon acquainted with hiſtory is ignorant of the important obligations which that Emperor received from my kinſman Count Egelbert of Naſſau; by whom he was powerfully ſupported againſt Lewis the Eleventh of France; by whom the people who had rebelled againſt him were ſubdued; and by whom likewiſe he recovered his liberty, of which the jealouſy of the Flemings had deprived him. Need I mention what every body knows, of the ſervice performed to the late Emperor Charles, by Count Henry Naſſau my uncle, who was in reality the perſon that prevailed with the electors to confer upon him the Imperial crown? Was it not by the bravery of René, Prince of Orange, that the Emperor ſubdued the duchy of Guelderland; and by that of Philibert, that he gained poſſeſſion of Lombardy and Naples, and the perſon of the Pope, and the city and ſtate of Rome? And will his ſon pretend to reproach the memory of theſe great men, by boaſting of his father's kindneſs, in ſuffering juſtice to be done to their kinſman? Am I not authoriſed, from the few facts which I have mentioned, to aſſert, that had it not been for the houſes APPEND. 1580.

APPEND. houſes of Orange and Naſſau, which I have
1582. the honour to repreſent, my defamer could not have put ſo many pompous titles, as are inſerted in the beginning of his Proſcription?

"By what I have ſaid, I would not be underſtood to diſclaim every kind of obligation to the Emperor. I ſhall for ever retain a grateful remembrance of the honour which he did me, when, after having taken upon himſelf the inſpection of my education, and kept me nine years about his perſon, he gave me the important charge of all his ordnance in the Netherlands: and in my abſence, without any application made in my behalf, in contradiction to the repreſentations of his courtiers, and in preference to many officers of great experience, appointed me Commander in Chief of his army, at the age of twenty-one. I reflect with gratitude on that teſtimony of regard, with which he honoured me at the time of his reſignation, when having ſent for me from the camp, he gave me a public proof of his affection, by placing me next him, and leaning upon me, to ſupport him under the fatigue of that ſolemnity. I know likewiſe, that he meant to give me a further proof of his regard, when he impoſed upon me the irkſome taſk of carrying the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand. But will my enemies pretend to aſſert, either that

I ſhewed myſelf unworthy of theſe honours, or that my intereſt and fortune were promoted by them? Did the troops, when I commanded them, ſuffer any repulſe or damage? On the contrary, although the plague raged among them, and I had two of the ableſt generals of the age, the Duke de Nevers and the Admiral Coligny, for my opponents; I kept them at bay, and fortified the towns of Charlemont and Philipville, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous endeavours to prevent me. While the ſervices which I performed correſponded to the truſt repoſed in me, I can affirm with truth, that honour was the only acquiſition which I derived from the favour that was ſhewn me. From the chamber of accounts it will appear, that I never received any pecuniary recompence for my ſervices. I am able to prove by the moſt inconteſtible evidence, that my unavoidable expence as general, added to the expence of my embaſſy into Germany, and that which I incurred, when the King required me to receive and entertain the numerous foreign nobility, who crowded to congratulate him on his acceſſion, amounted to no leſs than one million five hundred thouſand florins. And to indemnify me for this expence, what return did I receive from the King, who now accuſes me of ingratitude? Having, with the Emperor's conſent, begun to aſſert my claim to the lordſhip of APPEND. 1580.

APPEND. 1580 of Chatel Bellin, before the ſupreme court of juſtice at Mechlin; when the counſellors had regiſtered their opinion, and on the day when they were to have pronounced ſentence in my favour, this King, who had juſt ſworn to govern us according to the laws, did, in violation of theſe laws, interpoſe his arbitrary power, and forbid the judges to proceed; nor ſince that time, have they been ever permitted to do me juſtice.

"When what I have ſaid ſhall be conſidered, the governments which were beſtowed on me will not appear to be more than was due for the ſervices which I have performed; nor more than an adequate compenſation for that extraordinary expence, which theſe ſervices had coſt me. Had the King allowed me to remain in poſſeſſion of theſe governments, he might have had ſome reaſon for reproaching me; although it was not in reality to him I was indebted for them, but to the Emperor, by whom it was determined they ſhould be conferred upon me, before his departure from the Netherlands. But ſince my accuſer has laboured to expel me from them; ſince he has, to the utmoſt of his power, deprived me of my poſſeſſions, beſides carrying off my ſon to Spain, in contempt of the privileges of this country, which he had ſworn to preſerve inviolate, becauſe I would

not lend myſelf a willing inſtrument of his oppreſſion; after this, I ſay, is he entitled to accuſe me of ingratitude? APPEND. 1580.

"NOR is there any better ground for his accuſation, that I have violated the allegiance, which I owed him as my ſovereign. Though I have rejected his authority, yet I have done nothing more than was done by his anceſtor, Albert Duke of Auſtria, the founder of his family, againſt my anceſtor, the Emperor Adolphus of Naſſau. And beſides this, I ſhould gladly know by what title my accuſer poſſeſſes his Caſtilian dominions? Did not his predeceſſor Henry of Caſtile, a baſtard, riſe in rebellion againſt his brother Pedro, his lawful ſovereign, whom he killed with his own hand? And is not Philip the lineal heir of that uſurper? It may be ſaid, that Pedro was a tyrant, and therefore juſtly dethroned and ſlain. And may not the ſame plea be offered in excuſe for the part which I have acted? May it not be ſaid with truth of Philip, that his conduct has been that of a cruel tyrant; and that the cruelties exerciſed by Pedro, were much leſs ſhocking and horrible, than thoſe which have been perpetrated by the Duke of Alva and his aſſociates? I muſt farther obſerve, that as King of Spain, I owe him no ſubmiſſion, but only as Duke of Brabant. And as he is Duke of that province,

APPEND. 1580. province, I, by reaſon of the baronies which I hold there, am one of the principal members of it. But he has forgotten the conditions on which he received this dukedom. He has forgotten the ſolemn oath which he took to preſerve our privileges; and that it is an expreſs article of the compact betwixt us, that if he fail in his engagements, our obligation to obey him as our ſovereign ſhall ceaſe. All Europe has witneſſed his open contempt of theſe engagements. All Europe will bear me witneſs, when I ſay, that not a ſingle privilege only, but every privilege of which we boaſted, and which he had ſworn to maintain, has been violated, and not in a ſingle inſtance only, but in a thouſand inſtances. In my own perſon, as I have already hinted, I have had ample experience of his lawleſs tyranny: my ſon, at an age when he was incapable of offending him, has been torn from me. All my eſtates and goods have been confiſcated; and I myſelf declared a traitor and rebel, without any of thoſe forms of trial which the laws require: and by whom? By men of the loweſt claſs veſted with his authority, by pettifoggers, and others too mean to be employed as pages, by one who holds the rank, which I have long held in the Netherlands. I do not deny, that at his acceſſion I took the cuſtomary oath of allegiance; but the tie on me to yield obedience, and that

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on him to afford protection, were mutual; and it is a dictate of common ſenſe, that in obligations of this ſort, the failure of either party ſets the other free from his engagements. APPEND. 1580.

"But even if I had not received any perſonal injury, I ſhould have thought myſelf indiſpenſably obliged to oppoſe the tyrannical meaſures which were purſued. For it is not the Prince only who ſwears to maintain the fundamental laws. The ſame oath is required of the nobles, and of all who are admitted into public employments. By this oath I was ſtrictly bound to do every thing in my power to reſcue my fellow-citizens from the oppreſſions under which they groaned, and, had I not done what my enemy complains of, I ſhould have been juſtly chargeable with the crime, of which all the world knows that he has been guilty, a breach of the moſt ſacred and ſolemn obligation.

"To this imputation, I know that his partiſans are ready to reply, that although he ſwore at his acceſſion to maintain our privileges, yet the Pope had granted him a diſpenſation from his oath. I leave it to divines and others, better acquainted than I am with religious controverſies, to determine, whether this arrogance of the Pope, in aſſuming power

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APPEND. 1580. to ſet men free from the obligation of an oath, be not an impious encroachment on the prerogative of Heaven, and I leave it to them to determine, whether this pretenſion is not deſtructive of faith among men, and ſubverſive of ſociety. I ſpeak not therefore of the lawfulneſs of Philip's conduct, after having obtained this boaſted diſpenſation, but of his folly in applying for it. The tie between him and his ſubjects was ſtrictly mutual; and by procuring a diſpenſation for himſelf, he at the ſame time ſet me, and all his other ſubjects, free from the engagements which we came under to yield him obedience. It is childiſh and trifling to ſay, that by means of the diſpenſation he is free, but that we who have not been diſpenſed with, are ſtill as much bound as ever. For from the moment that he conſiders himſelf as diſengaged (by what means ſoever his obligation was diſſolved), the condition on which we promiſed obedience being removed, it muſt be abſurd to reproach us with infidelity.

"I COME now to that part of the Proſcription in which I am accuſed of having been the author of all the diſturbances that have happened. With ſuch of you as are old enough to remember the riſe of theſe diſturbances, there will be no need to defend myſelf againſt ſo groundleſs an imputation; but for the ſake of

of thoſe who were too young at that time to form a judgment of what they ſaw, it is neceſſary I ſhould give ſome account of thoſe tranſactions, which are ſo groſsly miſrepreſented in this infamous proſcription. APPEND. 1582.

" No perſon acquainted with the conduct of my accuſer in his other dominions, or with the cruelties exerciſed in Granada, Mexico, and Peru, will be at a loſs to account for the calamities with which the people of the Low-Countries have been overwhelmed. In the very beginning of his reign, his deſpotic temper was conſpicuous. The Emperor his father ſaw it with deep concern, and when the Count de Boſſut, and I, and ſeveral others were preſent, he exhorted him to treat his Flemiſh ſubjects with greater moderation; and foretold, that if the pride and arrogance of his Spaniſh counſellors were not reſtrained, the people of the Netherlands would ere long be excited to revolt. But this wholeſome counſel had not the effect which the Emperor intended. His ſon ſtill conſulted only with Spaniards; he ſtill foſtered as much as ever his paſſion for arbitrary power: and reſolved, in contradiction to his intereſt, if rightly underſtood, as well as to his oath, to overturn our conſtitution. The condition annexed to your grant of the nine years' ſupply, that the money ſhould be diſpoſed

APPEND. 1580. of by your own commiſſioners, excited in him, and in his counſellors, the moſt inveterate reſentment. I have been preſent when theſe counſellors, who knew well their maſter's ſentiments, adviſed him to the purſuit of meaſures, by which you were all to have been adjudged to death. But it was by accident I came to know that theſe bloody counſels had been adopted. From the French King's own mouth, when I reſided at his court as an hoſtage, I learnt that a plan had been concerted with the Duke of Alva, to extirpate from France and the Netherlands all who were ſuſpected of being favourably inclined to the reformed religion. I concealed from the French Monarch my ignorance of the deſign; and the indignation which it excited in me. By the interceſſion of the Ducheſs of Savoy, I obtained leave to return into the Netherlands, where (I deny it not, on the contrary, I glory in it) I promoted with all my influence that earneſt requeſt, which the States preferred to the King for the removal of the Spaniſh troops.

"I ACKNOWLEDGE, that amidſt the numberleſs falſehoods with which this proſcription is filled, there is truth in another part of the charge which is laid againſt me. I acknowledge, that after having remonſtrated in vain to the Ducheſs of Parma, againſt the cruel and arbitrary

arbitrary meaſures that were purſued; being prompted by my dread of a civil war, by my concern for the calamities of the people, and by a ſenſe of duty ariſing from the oath which I had ſworn to maintain their rights, I called together the principal nobility, and attempted to open their eyes to the impending danger. APPEND. 1580.

"I ACKNOWLEDGE likewiſe, that I approved of the ſupplication, which was preſented by the nobility, againſt the placarts and executions. I am far from being either aſhamed, or ſorry, for the counſel which I gave. That ſupplication was not only the moſt moderate meaſure that could have been deviſed, but was ſtrictly conformable to the conſtitution and practice of the Netherlands; and happy had it been for the King, as well as for the people, had he complied with the requeſt which it contained.

"WITH reſpect to that part of the proſcription, in which my accuſer reproaches me, on account of the favours which I have ſhewn to the Proteſtants; I confeſs, that before I embraced the reformed religion, I never hated thoſe who profeſſed it. Nor will this appear ſurpriſing, when it is conſidered that my mind had been early tinctured with its principles, and that my father, who had eſtabliſhed it in his dominions, lived and died in the profeſſion

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of it. I confeſs, that even while, in conſequence of my education at the Emperor's court I held the Catholic perſuaſion, I always abhorred the barbarities which were exerciſed by the Popiſh Inquiſitors. I confeſs, that at the time of the King's departure from Zealand, when he commanded me to put to death certain perſons attached to the Proteſtant faith, I refuſed to obey, and gave theſe perſons private warning of the danger to which they were expoſed. I confeſs, that in the Council of State, I made all the oppoſition in my power to the perſecutions that were propoſed; partly from motives of compaſſion or humanity, partly from my conviction of the abſurdity of puniſhing men for opinions which they could not change, when they did not diſturb the public tranquillity; and partly from a perſuaſion, that the violent remedies employed were calculated to diſappoint the end in view. But while, for theſe reaſons, I was from the beginning averſe to perſecution; you all know that I had no concern, either in the introduction of the reformed religion into the Netherlands, or in the rapid progreſs which it made during the government of the Ducheſs of Parma. You know, that at that time I poſſeſſed not the ſmalleſt influence with thoſe, by whom it was introduced and propagated; and you likewiſe know, that with regard to thoſe diſorders, into which

which the Proteſtants ſuffered their zeal to betray them, ſo far from giving them my countenance or approbation, I exerted my authority to reſtrain them; I puniſhed the perpetrators with ſeverity, and have been, on account of the rigour which I exerciſed, by many among the Proteſtants, moſt cruelly calumniated and defamed. APPEND. 1580.

"I HOPE to be excuſed, on this occaſion, for obſerving that there is one circumſtance in the proſcription, that gives me pleaſure. Notwithſtanding the malice and rancour, and contempt of truth which my accuſer has diſcovered, there is one crime, often laid to the charge of the Governors of provinces, of which he has not ventured to accuſe me; I mean that of avarice, or the embezzlement of the public money. Of this deſpicable crime, indeed, I have been accuſed by ſome unknown perſons, in certain defamatory writings that have been circulated. But from the ſilence obſerved on this head by my inveterate enemy, theſe libellers may ſee the folly as well as falſehood, of their inſinuations. To you there can be no occaſion to vindicate my conduct. I give thanks to God, that I learnt, at an early period, of how much conſequence it was for one who governs a free people, not only to preſerve himſelf untainted, but even to keep himſelf free

APPEND. 1580. from the ſuſpicion of corruption. And you know, that on this account I have conſtantly declined taking any charge of the public money; and from the beginning of my adminiſtration, have transferred both the collection and diſtribution of it to others.

" I AM accuſed in the proſcription, of having practiſed to return into Holland, by undertaking to defend the people from the tax of the tenth penny, which, it is ſaid, was impoſed upon them by the Duke of Alva, without the King's conſent; and I am accuſed likewiſe of having perſecuted and expelled the Catholics. If, by practiſing, my accuſer means that I ſolicited for liberty to return, there is as little truth in this, as in his other aſſertions. I myſelf was moſt earneſtly ſolicited; and I am ready to ſhew letters which I received, not only from the governors of towns, but from the citizens, intreating me to come and deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards. And, in complying with theſe intreaties, what did I do that my duty did not require from me? I attempted to deliver from ſlavery, the provinces which had been committed to my care; whoſe liberties I had ſworn to maintain; and of the right to govern which the King had no power, without the conſent of the States, to deprive me.

" No

" No part of this proſcription gives me greater ſurpriſe, than that in which I am accuſed of perſecution. It is impoſſible but even the Romaniſts themſelves muſt bear witneſs to the falſehood of ſo injurious an imputation. No perſon in the Netherlands can be ignorant, that far from employing rigour, I have often argued and remonſtrated againſt it, and have promoted lenity in the treatment of the Catholics to the utmoſt of my power. Of this, even my accuſer himſelf ſeems to make an indirect acknowledgment. I feigned, he ſays, that the perſecution of the Catholics diſpleaſed me. But how does he know that I feigned? Have not my actions been at all times open? Why does he not judge from them of my intention? Never had one perſon leſs ground for accuſing another of any crime, than my accuſer has to caſt on me the imputation of hypocriſy. Did I, either before, or at the time when he conferred theſe obligations upon me, for which he has reproached me with ingratitude; did I ever offer the incenſe of flattery, either to himſelf or to the Ducheſs of Parma, or his tools and confidents in the council? On the contrary, did I not openly, and without diſguiſe, condemn the meaſures which he had dictated, and which they purſued? Was it poſſible for me to ſpeak more plainly than I did, or to give a clearer teſtimony of my averſion to his deſigns, APPEND. 1580.

APPEND. 1580. than by desiring him, as I did frequently, to suffer me to resign my governments, because it was not in my power to yield him the obedience which he required? Such was my conduct before my departure into Germany; and since that time, is there a single step of my conduct that will admit of the interpretation of hypocrisy? Did I not openly solicit aid from the German Princes to oppose him? Have I not raised armies against him; taken towns which he possessed; repulsed his forces; and expelled him utterly from at least two of the provinces over which he tyrannized? Is there any thing in this that can be termed hypocrisy?

"But my accuser will not find it so easy to vindicate his own conduct from this odious imputation. Read my defence which I published some years ago; and you will perceive to which of us belongs the appellation of hypocrite and deceiver. In that defence there are copies of letters which I received from him, filled with professions of friendship and regard, at the very time when, as appears from the sequel, he had doomed me to destruction.

"But why should I expect to be dealt with equitably, by one whose conscience allows him to affirm, that his minister the Duke of Alva imposed the tax of the tenth penny, and urged the

the levying of it with ſuch inflexible obſti- APPEND
nacy, without his authority or conſent? Is it 1580.
credible that one who knew this King's temper ſo well as Alva, and who had ever ſhewn the greateſt ſolicitude to pleaſe him, would have preſumed, by a meaſure ſo tyrannical and unprecedented, to run the riſk of kindling a civil war? Or, if this wary Spaniard was in reality ſo raſh and preſumptuous, can it be believed by any perſon who conſiders the important conſequences with which his raſhneſs and preſumption were attended, that the King would not, long ere this time, have diſavowed him, and made him feel the weight of his diſpleaſure? Was not Alva puniſhed for ordering his ſon to marry his couſin, rather than another woman, whom he had debauched under a promiſe of marriage? Was not this old ſervant baniſhed for this venial tranſgreſſion, from his maſter's preſence, and thrown into priſon, from which he would never have been delivered, if one better qualified to tyrannize over the Portugueſe could have been found in Spain? And what opinion muſt we form of a King, who, for this private offence, could puniſh an ancient friend and ſervant with ſo much ſeverity; while, notwithſtanding the crime of treaſon, the moſt public and notorious, and productive of the moſt dreadful calamities to his faithful ſubjects, he not only ſuffered him to paſs unpuniſhed, but

APPEND. 1580. but received him with open arms, and loaded him with honours? After this, will he ſtill employ the language of a good King, and boaſt of his affection for his people?"

In a great part of what remains of this Apology, the Prince of Orange enters into a detail of the tranſactions recorded in the preceding hiſtory. I ſhall therefore paſs over this, and ſet before the reader what relates to the reproach, which Philip caſts on William's marriage with the daughter of the Duke de Montpenſier, who was the Princeſs of Orange at the time of publiſhing the Proſcription.

"My accuſer," continues he, "is not ſatisfied with ſaying every thing that can blacken my character, and render it odious to the world, but he has likewiſe attempted to taint the honour of my wife. He ſays, "that I have infamouſly married a religious woman, ſolemnly bleſſed by the hands of the biſhop, in contradiction to the laws of Chriſtianity, and of the Romiſh church, and that I did ſo whilſt my marriage ſubſiſted with another woman." Though this aſſertion were ſtrictly true, it would ill become this inceſtuous and adulterous King to accuſe me. But you know that it is entirely without foundation. My marriage with my former wife, now dead, did not ſubſiſt,

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ſiſt, and the ground of her divorce was approved even by the doctors of the Roman church; and by thoſe illuſtrious Princes to whom ſhe was allied. My preſent wife was not, even by the rules of the Popiſh church, a religious woman, in the ſenſe made by my accuſer. The Duke of Montpenſier, my father-in-law, who is ſincerely attached to the Catholic communion (not as Cardinal Granvelle, and other Spaniſh miniſters, from intereſt, but from principle and conviction), ſpared no pains to put the lawfulneſs of his daughter's marriage beyond doubt or controverſy. He found it the clear opinion, not only of the principal perſons in the parliament of Paris, but of ſeveral biſhops and doctors whom he conſulted, that even if a promiſe of celibacy had been given by my wife, yet, in conſideration of her youth, it would not have been binding, as it would have been contrary to the rules of the Gallican church, to the decrees of the high court of juſtice in France, and even to the ordinances of the councils of Trent, to which my adverſary pays ſuch unlimited ſubmiſſion. He likewiſe found that in reality no ſuch promiſe was ever made; that ſundry proteſtations had been taken, to prevent any perſon from imagining that his daughter ever intended to take the vow; and that, even in her abſence, the moſt undeniable evidence of this had been produced.

"I SAID

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" I SAID before, that although my marriage were not ſo unexceptionable as you ſee it is, even by the principles of the church of Rome, it would ill become my accuſer to reproach me on account of it. He ſeems not to have remembered the common maxim, that whoever ventures to accuſe another, ought to be well aſſured that he himſelf is innocent. And yet is not this King, who has endeavoured to ſtigmatiſe my lawful marriage with infamy, the huſband of his own niece? It will be ſaid by his partiſans, that he previouſly obtained a diſpenſation from the Pope. But does not the voice of nature cry aloud againſt ſuch an inceſtuous conjunction? And in order to make room for this marriage, is it not true, that he put to death his former wife, the mother of his children, the daughter and ſiſter of the Kings of France? I ſay not this, prompted by my reſentment, raſhly and at random: I aſſert, that in France there is evidence of the horrid deed of which I now accuſe him.

" IT was not a ſingle murder that was perpetrated for the ſake of this extraordinary marriage. His ſon too, his only ſon, was ſacrificed, in order to furniſh the Pope with a pretext for ſo unuſual a diſpenſation; which was granted, in order to prevent the Spaniſh monarchy from being left witouht a male-heir. This

This was the true cauſe of the death of Don Carlos, againſt whom ſome miſdemeanours were alleged; but not a ſingle crime ſufficient to juſtify his condemnation, much leſs to vindicate a father for imbruing his hands in the blood of his ſon. And if Don Carlos was in reality guilty of crimes deſerving death, ought not an appeal to have been made to us, his future ſubjects? Did the right of judging, and pronouncing ſentence of death againſt the heir of ſuch extenſive dominions, belong to Spaniſh friars and inquiſitors, the obſequious ſlaves of the father's tyranny? APPEND. 1580.

"But perhaps this good King made conſcience of leaving for his heir a Prince, whom he knew to be born in unlawful wedlock. For Philip's marriage with the mother of Don Carlos was not leſs contrary to the laws of God and man, than that other of which I have already ſpoken. At the very time when he eſpouſed the Princeſs of Portugal, the mother of Carlos, his marriage ſubſiſted with Iſabella Oſorio, by whom he had two ſons, Pedro and Bernardino; a marriage brought about by Ruo Gomez de Silva, Prince of Evoli, to which that nobleman was indebted for his power and greatneſs. And beſides, is it not well known that this King lived in habitual adultery with another woman, the lady Euphraſia? Did he not compel

APPEND. 1580. pel the Prince of Aſcoli to take that lady for his wife, when ſhe was big with child by himſelf? And while it has been affirmed with certainty, that that unhappy man was taken off by poiſon; do not even the Spaniſh courtiers aſcribe his death to the grief which he conceived from the affront to which he was obliged to ſubmit, and the cruel neceſſity impoſed on him, of acknowledging for his heir the adulterous baſtard of another? Such, and ſo chaſte has been the conduct of this King, who has the aſſurance to calumniate my lawful marriage as a violation of the ſacred laws of chaſtity.

" But I ſhall haſten to conclude this Apology, after offering ſome remarks concerning the nature of the ſentence that has been pronounced againſt me. It is in this part of the edict of proſcription, that the compiler, whether the King himſelf or ſome ignoble inſtrument of his tyranny, has employed all the thunder and lightning of his eloquence. But I thank God, it intimidates me no more, than the anathemas of Clement VII. intimidated my kinſman Prince Philibert, when he beſieged and took the Pontiff priſoner in his caſtle of St. Angelo, after the proofs which I have given, that I fear not all the power which my adverſary is poſſeſſed of; and after contending for ſo many years againſt his beſt generals, with numerous armies

armies under their command, it was weak in him to expect to frighten me with the high-sounding terms of this proſcription. I have leſs reaſon now, than formerly, to dread the attempts of thoſe abandoned wretches, whom he has endeavoured to inſtigate againſt me. For I am not ignorant, that before this time he has bargained with poiſoners, and other murderers, to deprive me of my life. He has now given me a public warning of his bloody deſign. And with the Divine aſſiſtance, and the vigilance of my friends, I truſt, that, notwithſtanding his diabolical machinations, my life ſhall be preſerved ſo long as the proſperity and intereſt of this people, to whoſe ſervice I have devoted it, ſhall require. APPEND. 1589.

"My confidence on this head is greatly augmented by reflecting upon the indignation, which I cannot doubt will be generally excited by that extraordinary method of proceeding againſt me, which my adverſary has adopted. For there is not, I am perſuaded, a nation or Prince in Europe, by whom it will not be thought diſhonourable and barbarous, thus publicly to authoriſe and encourage murder; except the Spaniards, and their King, who have been long eſtranged from every ſentiment of honour and humanity. In having recourſe to private aſſaſſinations againſt a declared and

APPEND. 1580. open enemy, does not this mighty monarch confeſs his deſpair of being able to ſubdue me by force of arms? Does he not give a teſtimony in my behalf, and diſcover that he dreads the efforts which I may make againſt him? Is it not weak and mean, to make publicly ſo puſillanimous an acknowledgment? But the weakneſs and meanneſs of his conduct is not greater than the abſurdity of his choice of the rewards, which he holds forth to thoſe who ſhall execute his bloody purpoſe. For it is not money only that he offers them, but nobility and honour; as if a regard to honour could influence a man capable of perpetrating a deed held in univerſal deteſtation. And if any perſon already poſſeſſed of nobility were to pollute himſelf by ſo foul an action, would not his nobility from that moment be annihilated? Would not all ſociety and connection with him be held diſhonourable?

"EVEN my adverſary himſelf ſeems to have been in ſome meaſure ſenſible of the truth of this, and therefore he addreſſes himſelf more particularly to criminals and malefactors, as thoſe who are moſt likely to comply with his requeſt. "And in order," ſays he, "that his deſtruction may be the more effectually and ſpeedily accompliſhed, we, deſirous of puniſhing vice and rewarding virtue, promiſe on the word

word of a King, and as the miniſter of God, APPEND. 1580.
that if any perſon ſhall be found poſſeſſed of courage and public ſpirit ſufficient to animate him to the execution of this decree, and to free us from the aforeſaid peſt of ſociety, we ſhall order to be delivered to him, either in land or money as he ſhall incline, the ſum of twenty-five thouſand crowns; and if he ſhall have committed any crime, however enormous, we promiſe to grant him our royal pardon; and if he be not already noble, we hereby confer nobility upon him, and likewiſe on all thoſe who ſhall aid and aſſiſt him." Is not this, in plain terms, calling on every deſperate wretch, every outcaſt from ſociety, to aſſiſt him in the execution of his deſign? No crime, however enormous, but ſhall be pardoned; no criminal, however deteſtable, but ſhall be crowned with honour. Does this King deſerve the title which he aſſumes, of a miniſter of God, who thus confounds the diſtinction between vice and virtue; and thus publicly avows his willingneſs to beſtow the higheſt rewards and honours upon men defiled with the moſt abominable crimes? Have I not ground to rejoice in being perſecuted by one whoſe conſcience allows him to have recourſe to ſuch unhallowed means? And is not ſuch depravity of ſentiment in my accuſer, a teſtimony in behalf of my integrity?

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" I HAVE now ſaid all that ſeems neceſſary to vindicate my character from thoſe falſe aſperſions which are thrown upon it in this proſcription. Many things which I might have ſaid, I have purpoſely omitted. Had I deſcended to a particular account of the cruelty, accompanied with a contempt of the moſt ſacred obligations, which has been exerciſed by my accuſer over this unhappy people, I ſhould never have come to a concluſion. But with you there can be no occaſion for giving a more particular detail. You have been ſpectators of the horrid ſcene; and have borne your ſhare of thoſe oppreſſions which would fall to be deſcribed.

" But before I conclude, I muſt intreat you to reflect ſeriouſly upon the means to which our enemy finds it neceſſary to have recourſe, in order to accompliſh his deſigns. This infamous proſcription, joined to the pains which he and his miniſters continually employ to create diviſions among the provinces, ſhews clearly that he now deſpairs of enſlaving us by force of arms, while we remain united.

" It is indeed againſt me chiefly, at this time, that his deſigns are directed. " Were I removed," he ſays, " either by death or baniſhment, tranquillity would be reſtored." You will eaſily conceive what tranquillity he

means, if you call to mind your condition, before I returned into the Netherlands, when you groaned under the tyranny of the Duke of Alva. Would to heaven that by my baniſhment or death you could be delivered from your calamities! My enemy ſhould not in that caſe, find it neceſſary to employ poiſoners and aſſaſſins to deſtroy me. You all know how often I have expoſed myſelf to danger in your defence. I leave it to you, to whom alone it belongs, to determine, whether my life and preſence be repugnant or conducive to the intereſt of the provinces. To you only, and not to the King of Spain, I am accountable for my conduct. You have full authority (and I pledge myſelf to ſubmit to it) to diſpoſe, as you ſhall incline, either of my perſon, or of my life. Interpoſe that authority with which I acknowledge you to be inveſted, and give orders either for my departure from among you, or for my death; if you judge either the one or the other for the general good. But if on the contrary, my paſt conduct has convinced you, as I truſt it has, of the ſincerity of my zeal and attachment; or if my long experience gives you confidence in my ability for conducting your affairs, I ſhall ſtill continue to employ, in your ſervice, the talents which I poſſeſs, hoping that you will liſten to the earneſt exhortations which I have given you, to maintain APPEND. 1580.

APPEND. 1580. harmony and concord in the ſtate; and exert yourſelves ſtrenuouſly for the defence of this people, whom you have undertaken to protect; depending on the favour of the Almighty, that your endeavours for this end ſhall be attended with ſucceſs."

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